

Lexical Innovation on the Internet - Neologisms in Blogs

Thesis

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for my parents

Table of contents

TABLE OF FIGURES

TABLE OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1

Introduction	1
1.1 Language change research	2
1.2 The objective of this research.....	5
1.3 Data source and methodology	6
1.4 Structure of the thesis.....	7

CHAPTER 2

Expanding the lexicon - Basic concepts	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Lexical growth.....	10
2.3 Word coinage – root creation	10
2.4 Borrowing.....	12
2.5 Semantic change.....	15
2.6 Word-building	17
2.6.1 Derivation.....	18
2.6.2 Compounds	21
2.6.3 Blends.....	23
2.6.4 Clipping.....	25
2.6.5 Back-formation	26
2.6.6 Abbreviations: Acronyms & Alphabetisms	28
2.6.7 Conversion	31
2.6.8 Eponyms and Toponyms.....	32
2.7 Summary	33

CHAPTER 3

The study of lexical innovation.....	35
3.1 Introduction	35
3.2 Neologisms: types and definition	36
3.2.1 Types of neologisms	36
3.2.2 Definition of neologism	37
3.3 General problems with observation.....	40
3.3.1 Example: <i>bouncebackability</i>	41
3.3.2 Example: <i>weblog</i>	43
3.4 Attitudes towards neologisms	47
3.5 Lexicographic interest in new words	50
3.5.1 Print collections of neologisms	50
3.5.2 Internet word hunting.....	52
3.6 Morphological interest in new words.....	53
3.6.1 Morphological background	54
3.6.2 Morphological productivity	56
3.6.3 Qualitative approaches to productivity	57
3.6.4 Quantitative approaches to productivity	61

3.7	Regulating factors	62
3.7.1	Structural mechanisms	63
3.7.2	Non-structural mechanisms.....	66
3.8	Overview of empirical research	68
3.8.1	Lexicographical data	68
3.8.2	Corpus data.....	70
3.8.3	Experimental data.....	71
3.9	Summary	72

CHAPTER 4

The Internet age.....	75
4.1 Introduction	75
4.2 The electronic media, information and the society	76
4.2.1 The Internet	77
4.2.2 Users and access.....	78
4.2.3 Online activities	80
4.3 Communication in the digital age	81
4.3.1 History and background of CMC	83
4.3.2 Impact on the old media	85
4.3.3 Impact on the old genres	86
4.4 Natural language on the Internet	87
4.4.1 Previous studies.....	88
4.5 Dimensions of CMC.....	90
4.5.1 Mode and medial qualities of the channel.....	91
4.5.2 Communication direction and type	94
4.5.3 Participants.....	96
4.5.4 Time and space.....	97
4.5.5 Interactivity	98
4.5.6 Tools.....	100
4.5.7 Internet writing strategies.....	100
4.5.8 Transience vs. permanence	102
4.5.9 Hypertext.....	103
4.5.10 English on the Internet	103
4.6 Summary	104

CHAPTER 5

Blogs.....	107
5.1 Introduction	107
5.2 Blog history	108
5.2.1 A diary.....	108
5.2.2 A personal webpage	109
5.2.3 A weblog	111
5.3 Blog typology.....	115
5.4 Generic format and tools	117
5.4.1 Main body	118
5.4.2 Sidebar elements	121
5.5 Reach and growth of the blogosphere	122
5.5.1 Popularity indicators	124
5.5.2 Quantity, quality and language	125
5.6 Impact on the mainstream media and society	127
5.7 Blog – Communication dimensions	131
5.7.1 Mode and medial qualities of the channel.....	131
5.7.2 Communication direction and type	132
5.7.3 Roles – Bloggers and their audience	135

5.7.4	Portrait of a blogger	137
5.7.5	Time-space compression and community building.....	140
5.7.6	Blog conversations - interaction, interactivity and feedback	142
5.8	Summary	145
CHAPTER 6		
Neologisms in blogs.....		147
6.1	Introduction	147
6.2	Data collection.....	148
6.3	Indiana software tool	149
6.4	Methodological considerations	155
6.5	Definition of “neologism” in this project.....	159
6.6	General results.....	160
6.7	Quantitative results.....	163
6.7.1	Analysis based on sample frequency	164
6.7.2	Analysis based on occurrence frequency	167
6.7.3	Frequency of Internet-specific neologisms	169
6.8	Qualitative results.....	170
6.8.1	Coinage neologisms	171
6.8.2	Borrowing neologisms	173
6.8.3	Semantic neologisms.....	174
6.8.4	Word-building neologisms.....	175
6.8.5	Other cases	189
6.9	Summary	192
CHAPTER 7		
Observing change in progress		193
7.1	Introduction	193
7.2	Observing innovation	193
7.2.1	Naming need and naming competition	194
7.2.2	Emergence of a new pattern: <i>uber-</i> prefixation.....	197
7.3	Observing spread.....	202
7.4	Observing institutionalization	207
7.4.1	Morphological cognates based on <i>blog</i>	207
7.4.2	Neologisms - attitudes and disambiguation	214
7.5	Summary	219
CHAPTER 8		
Conclusion		221
8.1	Summary	221
8.2	Findings and implications	224
8.3	Future research	229
References.....		231
Appendix		247

Table of figures

Figure 2.1 Sources of loans in English vocabulary in the twentieth century	15
Figure 3.1 <i>Bouncebackability</i> - entry from the <i>OED Online</i>	43
Figure 3.2 <i>Blog</i> - entry from the <i>OED Online</i>	45
Figure 3.3 <i>Blog</i> - <i>Merriam-Webster's Word of the Year 2004</i>	45
Figure 3.4 Blog entry in "Among the New Words"	47
Figure 3.5 English speakers as a wide range of proficiencies	58
Figure 4.1 Internet penetration by world region	80
Figure 4.2 Web's growth	84
Figure 4.3 Interactive mass communication	95
Figure 4.4 Top ten languages on the Internet	104
Figure 5.1 Typical elements of a personal webpage	110
Figure 5.2 Typical components of the main body of a blog	119
Figure 5.3 Typical comments page	121
Figure 5.4 Growth of the blogosphere	123
Figure 5.5 Blog posts by language	126
Figure 5.6 Blogs in online newspapers	127
Figure 5.7 Oscar Watch blog	130
Figure 5.8 Visitor information	144
Figure 6.1 Architecture of the Indiana software tool	149
Figure 6.2 Indiana interface – general view	151
Figure 6.3 Indiana – control panel	151
Figure 6.4 Indiana – internal filters for extracting potential neologisms from the corpus	153
Figure 6.5 Indiana – results panel	154
Figure 6.6 Indiana – BNC query input errors	161
Figure 6.7 Correlation between all types and new types	164
Figure 6.8 Internet-specific neologisms vs. the total number neologisms in a blog-sample	170
Figure 7.1 Semantic structure model for <i>-holic</i>	203
Figure 7.2 Semantic structure model for <i>-holic</i>	203
Figure 7.3 Acceptance pattern for <i>fisk</i>	215

Table of tables

Table 2.1 Spelling and pronunciation of abbreviations	29
Table 4.1 Top 15 countries in Internet usage	79
Table 4.2 Online activities	81
Table 4.3 Internet timeline	84
Table 4.4 Levels of interactivity	99
Table 4.5 Examples of deviations types in English	101
Table 4.6 Abbreviation categories in SMS	101
Table 6.1 Sample frequency for most common types.....	165
Table 6.2 Occurrence frequencies of most common new types in the corpus.	168
Table 6.3 Blends and their source words	184
Table 7.1 Google frequencies for new formations for network of blogs	197
Table 7.2 Variation in productivity based on <i>blog</i>	208
Table 7.3 Variation in creativity based on <i>blog</i>	212
Table 7.4 Principal sense groups for <i>blog</i> morphological cognates.....	214

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1. Introduction

“Time changes all things; there is no reason why language should escape this universal law.”

(Saussure 1974: 77)

Consider the words *lyracist*, *sleepaholic*, *pwnage* and *bacn* in the following examples (1) - (3), taken from various web pages:

- (1) A „lyracist“ by night, teenager by day and sleepaholic everytime in between.
- (2) If this consistency isn't considered pwnage, I don't know what is.
- (3) I have various spam filters, but my email inbox suffers from inordinate amounts of bacn - particularly various informative and educational sites I've subscribed to (e.g. the Networks Community Forum and other EdNa forums), which don't have an RSS alternative, but which I want to keep tabs on.

What is a *lyracist*, and what does it mean to be a *sleepaholic*? Are *pwnage* and *bacn* English words at all? Are they misspelled words? The spell-checker in my word processor confidently highlights them as such. When I activate the spell-check option it suggests *lyricist* instead of *lyracist* and has no spelling suggestions for *sleepaholic* and *pwnage*. For *bacn* it offers five suggestions: *banc*, *bacon*, *ban*, *barn* and *back*.

Lyracist, *sleepaholic*, *pwnage* and *bacn* are not listed in any dictionary (as of December 2007), yet, a simple Web search returns 21,000 hits for *lyracist* and 11,500 for *sleepaholic*. *Pwnage* returns in excess of one million, and *bacn* 434,000, hits. Of course, sheer frequency figures do not validate a typing error as a proper word. Consider *teh* for *the*, one of the most frequent typing errors, which generates millions of hits on the Web. In fact, this specific case of letter substitution is so common that *teh* is part of the autocorrect lists of most spell-checkers.

So what kind of words are these? *Lyracist* is based on 'lyricist'. Its use is more semantically restricted, and refers to a songwriter specifically for rap and hip

hop music. *Sleepaholic* is coined on the noun + *-holic* pattern, similar to *workaholic*, and denotes a person subject to craving for something (here, sleep). According to the website About.com, *pwnage* is an Internet gaming term and refers to the complete destruction and humiliation of the opponent(s). The word *pwnage* started out as a mistyped version of *ownage* (because the ‘o’ and ‘p’ keys are next to each other on the keyboard) and then got adopted in the gaming vocabulary. *Bacn* is a colloquialism, a deliberate misspelling of *bacon*. It refers to email notifications that are not spam but nevertheless clutter the inbox, such as, newsletters, messages from social networking sites, and so on. According to the website www.bacn2.com, *bacn* had spread around the world, thanks to the Internet, within 48 hours of being coined.

Several interesting questions arise from this brief illustration:

- Does the Internet affect language regulation mechanisms?
- Are the neologisms coined on the Internet Internet-specific?
- Can innovation on the Internet be an indication of language change in general?

This thesis will address these questions. The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical background and to introduce the research project, its goals and the data used. I will also outline the contributions of this study to the general pool of knowledge in the fields of lexical change, and language change in general.

1.1 Language change research

In early modern linguistics, Saussureian synchronic-diachronic dichotomy cast language change in the domain of historical linguistics. It was of interest only for historical linguists who often based their observations on clear-cut cases, frequently ignoring the messy bits by casting them as lawless and marginal. As a result, the changes in progress were overlooked, and only the ‘lawful’ core was observed. Among the most prominent linguists of the times, Bloomfield, Hockett and Saussure believed that direct observations were inconceivable. In fact, Saussure (1974: 83) wrote: “[t]he opposition between the two viewpoints – synchronic and diachronic – is absolute and allows of no compromise.”

The study of language change is an important part of modern linguistics research, particularly in relation to sociolinguistics, but also in other subsystems of language, including lexicon (e.g., Cannon 1987, Hughes 1988, Breivik and Jahr 1989, Milroy 1992, Bauer 1994, McMahon 1994, Labov 1994 and Labov 2001, Schneider 1997a&b, Croft 2000, Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes 2002, Hickey 2003, Aitchison 2005, Brinton and Closs Traugott 2005). The burgeoning interest in the field, whether in general or in particular aspects, is partly due to the increased availability of data. Nowadays, it is possible to study certain kinds of change over a short period, because sufficient amount of data (both spoken and written) can be collected to make meaningful studies. Such amounts of data were not easily available in the past, and researchers often had to resort to second hand evidence (e.g., for spoken language).

Language change is studied *ex post facto*. That language change is not concurrently observable is still a common perception. For example, Crystal (2001a: 22) claims “We can (...) only recognize it once it has happened.” It is difficult to disagree if we see change as an end product rather than a process. On the other hand there have even been some attempts, for example, in lexical change studies, to foresee the future and evaluate the productivity potential of word-building patterns, and to predict the likelihood of success of newly coined words (Kjellmer 2000, Metcalf 2002).

Change is a complex phenomenon. It is the result of at least two processes: innovation, often seen as change internal to the system, and spread, which is perceived as social change (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, Andersen 1989, McMahon 1994, Milroy 2003). Innovation occurs at the level of the individual language user, and spread is the propagation of an innovation by other language users. The act of innovation might result in affecting the norm of language, though in itself it is not a language change. Romaine (1989: 201) explains it as follows: “it is only when others adopt it that it spreads and is transmitted from one generation to the next, and change takes place. This suggests that new innovations have to keep recurring within individuals until they are selected for some reason and transmitted.” Although the individual does have an important role in spreading the change, a lot of the discussion on language change has been restricted to language-internal mechanisms. As pointed out by Romaine (1989: 199) “There has been

correspondingly less attention paid to (...) the relationship between changes at the individual and group level to long-term changes in the language system.” However, recent decades have witnessed a growing interest in the role of the speaker as the catalyst for change (Haspelmath 1999, Koefoed and van Marle 2000, Milroy 2003).

Language change at both levels, innovation and propagation, is frequently an interplay of internal, external, and extra-linguistic factors. Directly relevant to this thesis is interaction between language and digital technology in the late twentieth century, and the resulting social and cultural changes triggered by globalisation of communication.

Digital technology can motivate language change, support the study of language contact and change, or be vehicle for change (Davis 2000: 301). The explosive growth of the Internet has transformed the world and the way we communicate (Crystal 2001a, Barron 2003, Jucker 2004). Wellman (2004: 127) describes the Internet as a tool that helps “each person to become a communication and information switchboard, between persons, networks, and institutions.” The Internet is no longer just a plaything for the cognoscenti. Whether we see the Internet as a revolution or merely as another piece of technology fostering communication in the same way as the invention of print or the telephone before, it has become a part of everyday life. Going by the estimates of several web-monitoring agencies (for example, Internet World Stats) the world Internet population passed one and a quarter billion in 2007. Increasing bandwidth and the availability of various web-tools have changed online communication practices, both in terms of quantity and quality of communication (Herring 2004). We have entered a new era of expression. People “don’t just relate to each other online, they incorporate their computer mediated communication into their full range of interaction: in-person, phone, fax, and even writing” (Wellman 2004: 123). This complements the social networks in which they live and work. To call communication on the Internet egalitarian and globe-spanning would be an overstatement, but it undoubtedly redefines the power and status that affect human communication. Nowadays, for most people it is more of a practical necessity than a novelty. Internet communication offers new challenges and opportunities not only to the Internet users but also to linguists, sociologists, psychologists,

anthropologists and other professionals interested in human communication (Runkehl et al. 1998, Dürscheid 1999, Jesuino 2002).

1.2 The objective of this research

The general aim of this research project is to observe lexical change in progress. Specifically, I want to observe what kinds of neologisms are being coined in English.

Ordinary speakers are able to create novel formations on the fly. Often, they produce new expressions not encountered before without even being aware of it. As Aitchinson (2005: 16f.) puts it, “[v]ocabulary items tend to be added, replaced, or changed in meaning more rapidly than any other aspect of language”. Metcalf (2002) estimates that several thousand new words are created each day. How many of such words survive to eventually make it into dictionaries is a different matter. According to Metcalf (2002: 1) only a few hundred “will remain as serious candidates for the dictionary and a place in our permanent vocabulary.”

Lexicographic researchers are mainly interested in words that have reached high frequency levels. Most morphological research so far has also been restricted to established words. Lately, though, several corpus-based studies have been published working with data from, for example, newspaper language (e.g. Renouf and Baayen 1998, Bauer and Renouf 2001). A large number of morphological studies, regardless of the source of data, focus on selected word-formation processes, in particular, derivation and compounding, which are examples of established and clearly rule-governed categories. Other types of structural reformulation (also within the word-building group) have been largely neglected. This is partly because many such studies in fact investigate morphological productivity – the potential of formatives and processes to form new words.

The lexicographic and morphological approaches to observing lexical change have left serious gaps. The initial stages in the emergence and spread of a word are simply ignored, or at most, investigated in retrospective, since the focus is only on the currently “successful creations”. They study vocabulary in which the change has already occurred; the studies, therefore, reflect past change rather than change in progress or potential change.

Lexical change does not necessarily take place over a long period of time. In November 2000 people would have been puzzled by the question: “What is a blog?” Yet, just a few years later the word has joined the popular lexicon, is described in most major dictionaries, and is an important part of social, political and business life around the developed world. Crystal (2006: 3) provides an even more dramatic example: “Our feelings about words change. And not just over long periods of time. It need only take a day. In October 1957, ask anyone what ‘sputnik’ was, and they would have been mystified. A day later, the word was on everyone’s lips.”

I am interested in the first stage of new word-formation – why new words are created – rather than when their use and form are widely spread and in regular and accepted use. I would like to observe how individual speakers create and use new forms. That is, what mechanisms do they use to build their neologisms, why do they introduce neologisms at all, to what extent are the neologisms results of regular, transparent processes, and to what extent are they innovative creations. The goal of this work is to investigate what morphological tools people use to create new words, which words they adopt in their lexicons, how they acknowledge whether they have accepted the word or still consider it new, and how they indicate that they are not to happy to use a certain word.

In this thesis I will provide an account of the ways in which an individual expands his lexicon by creating all sorts of new formations, with a special focus on mechanisms underlying those creations, and the factors influencing this creativity. The research described here explores present-day lexical innovations in the English language, that is, neologisms at the turn of the 21st century. The study focuses on several important aspects of lexical change in progress: innovation, spread, and manifestations of institutionalisation other than an entry in a dictionary. Rather than starting with a restricted selection of patterns, I attempt to observe all strategies that are used to structurally enrich the English vocabulary.

1.3 Data source and methodology

The data used in this work comes from English language blogs, a genre of computer-mediated communication (CMC) native to the Web. For the purpose of

the research a corpus of blogs covering the time span of seven years (1998-2005) has been compiled. Blogs have been selected for this study because they offer unprecedented opportunities for tracing words as they come into the language. Blogs offer access to digitally retrievable information that is much less transient than other types of communication on the Internet. Blog entries are typically time stamped, that is they contain the information about the time they were written. Moreover, blogs are, *de facto*, archived on blog-servers. Consequently, unlike many other forms of CMC, all entries of a blog are always available to Internet users. Blogs also offer the author freedom of expression, flexibility and vast opportunities for creativity. In that sense, they are very similar to some of the other forms of CMC, such as Internet-chat. For my research they provide a rich-data set available in electronic form, which facilitates the discovery of true neologisms.

A significant component of the work reported here is a text-mining software that has been developed specifically for this project. This software tool is used to parse blogs and identify potential neologisms. Each of these candidates is then further analysed to determine whether it is truly a neologism.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The remainder of the thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 provide an overview of the morpho-lexical aspects of this study. Chapter 2 introduces the fundamental notions of lexical change, and discusses various established mechanisms of extending the vocabulary of a language. Chapter 3 focuses specifically on neologisms. It defines a neologism from the lexicographic perspective and the word-building perspective. It gives an overview of the main research in the field, including a discussion of the problems encountered when observing or trying to identify neologisms. Additionally, various linguistic and extra-linguistic neology constraints are identified and discussed.

Chapter 4 begins with a description of the Internet as a digital platform for computer-mediated communication. The rapid growth of the Internet as well as its impact on society and communication in general are discussed. The main focus of the chapter is on Internet based communication, and the characteristics of computer-mediated communication. Chapter 5 details the characteristics of the

latest genre of CMC – blogs. An overview of the history, structure, and the communicative aspects of blogs is provided. This chapter lays out the background for the analysis of neologisms in blogs, discussed in the two subsequent chapters.

Chapter 6 is divided into two parts. First, the data collection, methodological aspects and the software tools used in the research project are discussed. The second part presents the general results of the study. It presents the types of neologisms found in blogs, as well as the morpho-lexical patterns by which these neologisms have been created.

In Chapter 7, we look at the issue of observing change in progress. Here, the possibility of observing change in progress is illustrated by the analysis of various stages of the life of a word. Naturally, the instances discussed here are examples of words that have not yet been institutionalised. The discussion in this chapter covers the observation of innovation, spread and non-normative institutionalisation, which are illustrated by selected case studies.

The last chapter provides a summary of the thesis and recapitulates the main conclusions drawn from this work. Some tracks for further research are also proposed.

2. Expanding the lexicon - Basic concepts

“In this century we live, not simply amidst change, but in the expectation of change. Perhaps, realizing this expectation mentally, we are inclined to realize it in fact. Yet linguistic change has been the norm in English for at least a thousand years”

(Hughes 1988: 2)

2.1 Introduction

Traditional discussion of language change includes descriptions and attempts at explanations of diachronic alterations to the core subsystems of language: phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Most scholars, however, agree that vocabulary reflects ongoing changes in a language most clearly (Romaine 1998, Baugh and Cable 2002). This is particularly true if we look at the pace at which the English vocabulary has been developing. It jumped from an estimated 60,000 words in Old English to more than 600,000 in Present-Day English (see Hughes 1988, Hughes 2000, Jackson and Zé Amvela 2000). This trend has not slowed down (Cannon 1987). Before we look at the recent developments in vocabulary and discuss relevant studies in the field (chapter 3) we should first look at the mechanisms that underlie the change in lexicon and make the expansion of vocabulary possible.

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the range of lexical innovation patterns that are found in English. It serves to introduce basic concepts and terminology necessary in the study of lexical innovation. Changes in the lexicon normally cover changes in meaning and in lexical inventory. They can be grouped into: word coining, semantic change, word-building, and borrowings. These will all be illustrated in this chapter.

2.2 Lexical growth

The lexicon of a language is in continuous development. Whereas in artificial or dead languages the lexicon can be considered as a closed class, in living languages vocabulary is constantly changing through the addition of new words, dying out of certain words, and modification of the meanings of existing words.

Taking into consideration the relationship between a word and its source we can distinguish the following factors accounting for its origin: whether a word is based on earlier words or existing patterns, whether the source is from English or other languages, and whether it undergoes any morphosyntactic modifications. As a consequence the processes involved in expanding the lexicon can be ascribed to one of four categories (for a detailed slightly different taxonomy of word origins see also Algeo 1978, 1980, 1998):

- Word coining: creating words not based on other words or patterns.
- Borrowing: words based on other existing words in languages other than English
- Semantic change: words based on existing words, which do not undergo any morphosyntactic modifications.
- Word-building: covers both structural and functional modifications, that is, formation of new words using patterns and processes available in a language, and ‘function shifting’, which does not require any structural modifications.

The following sections will present a discussion of these four groups.

2.3 Word coinage – Root creation

When words are created *ex nihilo*, that is, without morphological motivation, we talk about ‘coinage’, ‘root creation’ or ‘deliberate invention’ (cf. Bauer 1983: 239, Baugh and Cable 2002, Brinton and Closs Traugott 2005). Coinage may also cover cases of partly motivated words, as in the case of onomatopoeic formations, such as *hiss*, *plop*, or *gulp*.

Frequently quoted coinages include *blurb*, *Kodak*, *quark*, and *hobbit*. *Blurb* was coined in 1907 by Gelett Burgess to refer to flamboyant advertisement and excessive praise printed on book jackets. George Eastman invented the term *Kodak* for trademark purposes. The term has been used, however, to refer to cameras of

any brand. *Quark* first appeared in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939) and in 1964 was applied by U.S. physicist Murray Gell-Mann to refer to “[a]ny of a group of sub-atomic particles (orig. three in number) conceived of as having a fractional electric charge and making up in different combinations the hadrons, but not detected in the free state” (the *OED Online*). *Hobbit* was coined in 1937 in the fantasy tales of J.R.R. Tolkien. As explained by Tolkien in *The Return of the King* (1955: 416)

Hobbit is an invention. In the Westron the word used, when this people was referred to at all, was *banakil* ‘halfling’. But at this date the folk of the Shire and of Bree used the word *kuduk*, which was not found elsewhere. Meriadoc, however, actually records that the King of Rohan used the word *kûd-dûkan* ‘hole-dweller’. Since, as has been noted, the Hobbits had once spoken a language closely related to that of the Rohirrim, it seems likely that *kuduk* was a worn-down form of *kûd-dûkan*. The latter I have translated, for reasons explained, by *holbytla*; and *hobbit* provides a word that might well be a worn-down form of *holbytla*, if the name had occurred in our own ancient language.

Word coinage is a rare process. Algeo (1998) argues that it is not only extremely rare, but doubts if words coined *ex nihilo* exist at all. He believes that words commonly classified as coinages are in fact motivated but “words that seem to be of that type are usually words about whose history we merely have insufficient information” (Algeo 1998: 66).

Word coinage is typically applied in commercial settings for brand names. Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 5) observe that “[i]n the world of marketing, such creations generally are the result of massive commercial research efforts to find a combination of sounds that does not suggest something they do not want to suggest, words that have a pleasant ring to them and that are easy to pronounce.” These brand names may, with time, become more general terms, as happened with *kleenex* used now for any cleansing tissue or *pyrex* used for any glassware resistant to heat (see also section 2.6.9).

Coinage for some commercial products is, to a large extent, arbitrary, although in some cases the technical origin can be traced. Consider *teflon* which originates from *tetra-* + *fluor-* + arbitrary ending *-on* (the *OED Online*). Algeo (1998) also observes that though many trade names are computer generated, only certain patterns of letters, for example CVCVC or CVCCVC usually followed by *-an*, *-ar*, *-el*, *-ex* or *-on*, are selected. “It seems clear that the human beings who

make the final selection from computer-generated lists are guided by associations in choosing a trade name” (Algeo 1998: 66).

2.4 Borrowing

New lexical items can be created by borrowing, that is taking over words from other languages, either in their lexical form as foreign words, called “loan words”, or as a translation but not a word-form itself, “loanshifts” also frequently called “calques”, and “loan translations” (Katamba 2005: 137). Borrowing may also take the form of structural borrowing. For example, morphological patterns such as derivational and inflectional affixes can be borrowed.

Borrowing is by far the quickest way of increasing the word stock of a language. The most common motivation for lexical borrowing is the naming need. Speakers borrow words for concepts or objects which do not have names in their own language. This is confirmed by Crystal (2006: 62), who observes that “the majority of a language’s loan words do not replace anything. Rather, they gently elbow their way in, nudging aside already existing words and adding an extra sense or nuance to what was there before.” For example, the word *sputnik* was borrowed from Russian in October 1957 when the Russians launched the world’s first artificial satellite. *Sputnik* filled the lexical gap and at the time successfully competed with native, more descriptive terms like *man-made earth satellite*, *artificial moon*, and *artificial earth satellite* (Metcalf 2002: 4ff.).

When the new object is borrowed alongside the new lexical term, the borrowing process gets reinforced by “cultural borrowing”. This is often the case with fauna, flora, culture, and technology. For centuries English has been adding foreign words “ready made from the people from whom the idea or the thing designated has been obtained” Baugh and Cable (2002: 303). Selected cultural borrowings into English are listed after Crystal (1997) and Baugh and Cable (2002: 303) in (1). It is important to stress that socially perceived prestige is also a powerful motivation for borrowings. In the above discussed contact situations, the language or group of people that trigger prestigious connotations tend to influence the other language more profoundly.

(1)	apartheid	(Afrikaans)
	perestroika	(Russian)
	pyjamas	(Hindi)
	yoghurt	(Turkish)
	sauna	(Finnish)
	horde	(Polish)
	karate	(Japanese)
	assassin	(Arabic)
	cobra	(Portuguese)
	geyser	(Icelandic)
	caravan	(Persian)
	schmuck	(Yiddish)

Lexical borrowing may take the form of ‘adoption’ or ‘adaptation’. We talk about adoption when the borrowed word retains its original form. Adaptation refers to the various degrees of nativisation of the loan, such as phonological and morphological modifications. One example of adaptation, directly relevant to the lexical enrichment discussion, is a calque. In a calque the new meaning is expressed through translation into native lexical material. A commonly quoted example with English as the target language is *superman*, from German *Übermensch*. When we consider English as a donor language, calque borrowing can be illustrated by *skyscraper* translated into *grate-ciel* in French, *Wolkenkratzer* in German, and *drapacz chmur* in Polish.

Borrowings, in general, rely on language contact. Lexical borrowings, however, do not necessarily require the source and target languages to be exposed to each other for a long time, that is, their contact need not be intense. Structural borrowings, on the other hand, can only appear in intense language contact situations. With more adstratal contact language situations, when two or more languages co-exist hand-in-hand, the structural borrowing especially might become more prominent. Multilingual societies where both native and non-native English speakers use English as the language of communication can therefore actively influence (at least lexical) language development.

Foreign borrowings have contributed profoundly to the English vocabulary. According to Crystal, English is an “insatiable borrower” (1997: 126) and “a vacuum-cleaner of a language” (2006: 59). Hughes (2000: 9) calls English a “fascinatingly hybrid conglomeration” with “almost omnivorous capacity to absorb words from exotic and alien sources” (2000: 362). Crystal (2006) mentions over 350 source languages for lexical borrowing into English. Bromberg and Gale

(1998: 56) claim that approximately seventy-five percent of English words are borrowed. Baugh and Cable (2002: 11) add that more than half of the English vocabulary has its roots in Latin. Algeo (1991: 4) argues, however, that although a large proportion of the English vocabulary is in some way composed of borrowed words or word elements a large proportion of such words have actually been formed in English, and therefore the high percentage of borrowing reported for English is not justified.

Historically, in English, major source languages were French, Latin, and Greek (see e.g. Hughes 2000, Baugh and Cable 2002). McMahon (1994: 201) ascribes heavy borrowings from Latin to the following periods/classes: “continental Germanic acquisitions of basic commodities and terminology from the Romans; the coming of Christianity; the rise of literary language; and the scientific revolution.” Stockwell and Minkova (2001) suggest the inclusion of another category, namely, the current technological revolution.

The twentieth century, however, has observed a decline in borrowings in English in general, and from the three traditional source languages in particular (Cannon 1987, Algeo 1998). A study by Bauer (1994: 32ff.) supports this observation. He analysed the sources of new words in English spanning a century, between 1880-1982. The study was conducted in the following way. First a sample of words was randomly selected from *The Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*. These words were divided into three “politically determined” periods: 1880-1913, 1914-1938, and 1939-1982. Next, they were analysed depending on the process that created them. Finally, the origin of the words classified as borrowings was traced. Bauer’s findings show a steady decrease of new words created through borrowing as compared with other word-building processes. Moreover, in the group of borrowed words those originating from Romance languages were on the decrease, whereas he observed an increase in borrowings from other languages, such as Slavic and south east Asian languages (see Figure 2.1). Of course, we have to remember that his results were an indication of a trend, and are open to verification, he used a relatively small sample, which, moreover, was “crucially dependent on the criteria used by the editors of the OEDS” (Bauer 1994: 39).

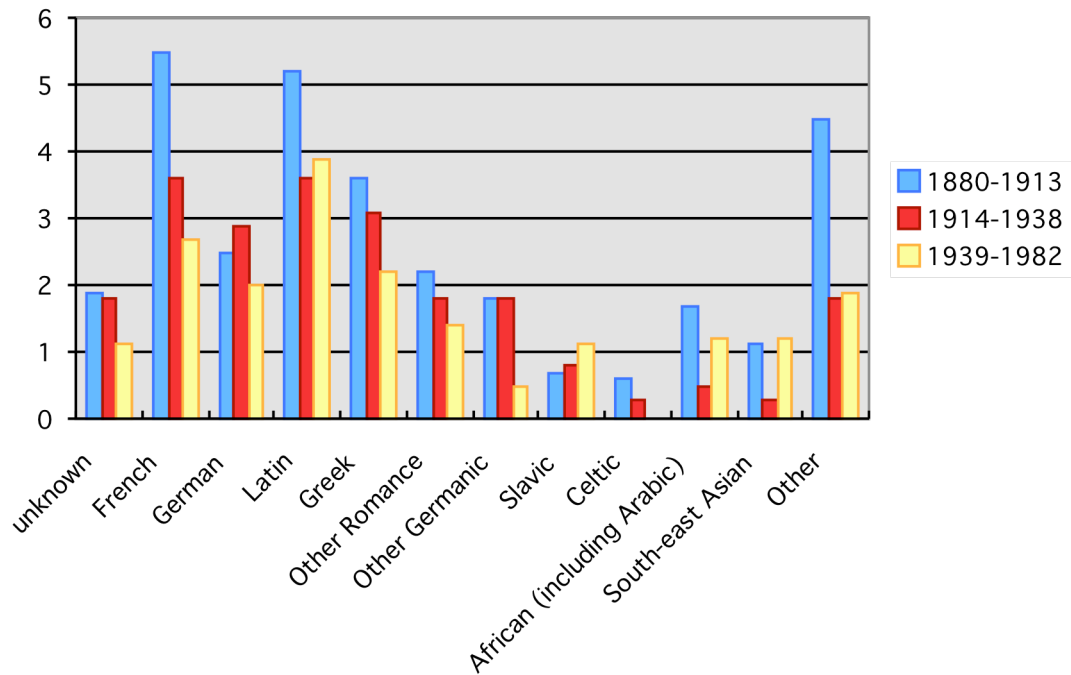


Figure 2.1: Sources of loans in the English vocabulary in the twentieth century (based on Bauer 1994)

Cannon (1987) reached a similar conclusion, having analysed the borrowings in *The Barnhart Dictionary of New English since 1963* (407), *The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English* (332) and the Addenda Section to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (523). The number of borrowings in the respective dictionaries, which are given in parentheses, constitute 8, 7 and 7.4 % of all entries respectively. Altogether Cannon (ibid) found in excess of 1,000 borrowings from at least 84 languages. These borrowings exhibit a lot of variation in structure, from simple forms to complex derivations and compounds.

2.5 Semantic change

Semantic change, also referred to as 'semantic shift', is the development of the sense of a word without altering its form. This is illustrated by the following example. The word *hierarchy* originally referred to the division of angels into orders, but since the 17th century has also been used to refer to an "organized body of priests or clergy in successive orders or grades" and a "body of persons or things ranked in grades, orders, or classes, one above another" (the *OED Online*), with the last sense being most prevalent today.

Words shift their meanings quite naturally over time, developing new senses. Crystal goes as far as to claim “[c]hange is the norm. The only words that do not change are dead ones” (Crystal 2006: 149). It is usually possible to trace the development of the shift in the meaning, yet, as correctly observed by Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 149), “[i]t is unlikely that scholars will ever be able to predict the directions in which particular words will change their meanings” as new meanings will reflect hitherto unforeseen circumstances.

Although semantic development is to a large extent unpredictable, some of the mechanisms of change, that is the forces that may bring about semantic change, have been identified and explored (McMahon 1994, Stockwell and Minkova 2001, Aitchison 2005, Denning et al. 2007). For example, McMahon (1994: 179ff.) discusses four causes of semantic change, namely linguistic, historical, social, and psychological, expanding the classification offered by Meillet (quoted by Aitchinson 2005: 122). Linguistic causes are examples of language internal-factors such as grammaticalisation. Additionally, semantic change is motivated by the general aspects of language such as the polysemic nature of words, discontinuous transmission, and arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (McMahon 1994: 177). First of all, a word often has various meanings or shades of meanings. This contributes to the ease with which its sense can be affected. Polysemy also accounts for the fact that words do not have to lose the old meaning to gain the new one(s). Discontinuous transmission refers to the fact that when language is transmitted from one generation to the next, children make inferences from the input data which is incomplete and as a result alter the language. Finally, since Saussure’s linguistic sign is usually unmotivated, that is, comprises arbitrarily linked components of a signified (a concept) and signifier (linguistic manifestation in words or sounds), it allows the change to occur independently in both/either. External forces generally reflect the way people adopt existing words to cover new situations. In other words, historical causes are reflections of changes in culture and technology (consider *hierarchy*, the example from the beginning of the section). Social causes are changes triggered by the use by a particular social group, and finally psychological causes reflect reinterpretations, taboos and euphemisms.

There are two important axes of semantic change: changes in scope, and in status. Semantic change may result in broadening or narrowing the meaning (range

of meanings) conveyed by a word. The sense of a word may also undergo a change in attitude from positive to negative (pejoration) or the opposite when the sense becomes more positive (amelioration). The English language is full of examples of all four types of semantic change. We find extensions of the meaning when the original sense undergoes a broadening such as *novice*, originally ‘one who has entered a religious house’, now more common in the sense of ‘an inexperienced person’. We find narrowing or specialisation of the meaning when a more general sense becomes restricted. One example is *computer*, which used to be the agentive noun to the verb *compute*, but is now almost exclusively used for the electronic programmable device, that stores and processes data. Change of attitude can be illustrated by the alteration of the sense of the adjective *pretty* which was ameliorated from the meaning ‘tricky, sly, cunning’ to ‘attractive’ and *silly* which moved from ‘happy, prosperous’ to ‘foolish’.

The extension/restriction and pejoration/amelioration typology is not exhaustive. Other types include metaphor, metonymy, euphemism and cliché. Moreover, some categories may overlap (see Ullmann 1964, Hughes 1988, Algeo 1990, Fortson IV 2003, Rainer 2005). However, as the semantic shift is not a primary interest in this book this brief discussion will suffice.

2.6 Word-building

Words may also be created by using solely morpho-lexical mechanisms. Morpho-lexical mechanisms, or word-building processes, to use a different name, accommodate all the processes that include structural changes, concatenative and non-concatenative, in the already existing form/forms either by extension, shortening or internal changes. These processes are sometimes also referred to as ‘word-formation’ or ‘derivation’ in general, but since the term ‘word-formation’ is ambiguous (cf. discussion in Bauer 2006a, and chapter 3) I will use ‘word-building’ as a more neutral term.

Word-building, for our purposes, is a general concept that covers all the processes that would normally go under the narrow understanding of word-formation, that is, morphological, productive, rule-governed processes and nonmorphological word-formation (see e.g. López Rúa 2006), often referred to as ‘word-manufacturing’ (Marchand 1969). No distinction is made here between

productive and non-productive processes. (This will be discussed at length in chapter 3.) Therefore, processes of word-building, as discussed below, include both morphological and non-morphological categories such as derivation, compounding, blending, clipping, back-formations, abbreviations, conversion, as well as eponymy and toponymy.

2.6.1 Derivation

As a general concept, derivation is sometimes used synonymously with word-building (see e.g. Aronoff and Fudemann 2005). This view is supported by Beard (1998: 55), who claims that “[i]n its broadest sense, *derivation* refers to any process which results in the creation of a new word”. I will apply a narrower definition where derivation, often referred to as “affixation” (Carstairs-McCarthy 2006), is a process which combines a bound morpheme (derivational affix) with a free element (simple or complex) to create a new lexical item.

Derivation should be distinguished from inflection. Although inflection produces new word-forms it does not produce new lexical items (lexemes). For example, we can find the following derivations from *active*: *activate*, *activation*, *actively*, *activeness*, *activity*, *activism*, *activist* (Stockwell and Minkova 2001: 11). Derivational affixes in the quoted examples include the following: *-ate*, *-ation*, *-ly*, *-ness*, *-ity*, *-ism*, *-ist*.

English derivational processes are generally classified into ‘prefixation’ and ‘suffixation’, according to the position of the affix with regard to the base. Selected orthographic, phonological, syntactic and etymological characteristics of derivation, with contrastive distinction between prefixation and suffixation where necessary, will be briefly discussed below.

Affixes are normally attached to the bases. There are, however, cases when they are joined to the base by a hyphen. This happens when formations are still unestablished (see also chapter 3), when the affix is somewhat word-like (*construction-wise*), or to prevent doubling of a vowel, especially in new constructions, in case of such prefixes as *co-*, *de-*, and *re-* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1537).

Prefixation does not inflict phonological changes in the stress pattern of the base. Suffixation, on the other hand, may change the stress pattern in a word. The

difference in phonological properties is illustrated by the examples in (2) and (3) selected from Plag (2003: 79). In these examples, derivative affixes are marked in bold, the primary stress is indicated by the acute accent (´), and the secondary stress is marked by a grave accent (`). The suffix *-ity* shifts the stress of the base to the syllable immediately preceding it, whereas the suffix *-ee* attracts the stress to itself. Suffix *-less*, however, is phonologically neutral, that is it does not trigger alterations. Katamba (2005: 93) observes that neutral affixes are typically of native, Anglo-Saxon origin, whereas most of the non-neutral ones are Latinate.

(2) prefixes

contextualize	de contextualize
argument	counter argument

(3) suffixes

emplóy	èmployée
seléctive	sèlectí vi ty
propagánda	propagánda less

Syntactically, both prefixes and suffixes can be ‘class changing’ or ‘class maintaining’. For example, the prefix *non-* as in *non-stick* and the suffix *-ful* in *resentful* change the verb into an adjective, however, *un-* as in *unhappy*, or *-ish* in *greenish* do not affect the category of the base. (Here, they form adjectives from adjectives.)

When we consider the syntactic category of the derived word, prefixes may be used exclusively with one type of base, for example, noun, verb, or adjective (4), or attach to bases of different categories (5). Suffixes can only attach to one type of base (6).

(4)	arch-	noun base	archmonetarist
	de-	verb base	decapacitate
(5)	mis-	noun base	misfortune
		verb base	mislead
(6)	-hood	noun base	manhood
	-al	verb base	arrival

Derivational affixes can also be subdivided into two general types that have semantic and grammatical consequences (Brinton and Closs Traugott 2005: 35). The semantic type is exemplified by the suffix *-ship*, that forms abstract nouns from other nouns, or the prefix *-un* that denotes reversal when attached to verbs:

friend - *friendship*, *do* - *undo*. Grammatical meanings are illustrated, for example, by the agentive suffix *-er* as in *worker*. Generally speaking, most prefixes have a semantic role whereas most suffixes have a grammatical role (see Quirk et al. 1985: 1546ff.)

Derivation in English is quite flexible in that it permits a certain number of recursions. It means that the output of one derivation can constitute the input for another as in *self* + *less* yielding *selfless*, and *selfless* + *ly* creating *selflessly*. Nevertheless, this flexibility is somewhat restricted for prefixes. Bauer (1983: 68) comments on it as follows, “English appears to show great reluctance in combining prefixes at all.” He illustrates it by an example, *pseudo-semi-crypto-formalization*, which though comprehensible seems unlikely to be coined.

Although there are many more affixes in English (for a list of affixes see Marchand 1969: 129-358, Koziol 1972: 89-262 and Quirk et al. 1985: 1540-1558) only about fifty prefixes and “somewhat fewer” suffixes are used in everyday language (Crystal 2006: 66). Naturally, the number of affixes is not fixed. Existing affixes may become obsolete. For example, though the Old English affix *-th* still survives in words such as *warmth* and *depth*, it is no longer used to form new words in English. New affixes may also be added. The two basic methods for the growth of the affix stock are borrowing and morphological reanalysis, or combinations of the two, as we will see.

Morphological reanalysis, also called ‘folk etymology’ or ‘popular etymology’, is an error analysis of the word; its reinterpretation, based on the supposed meaning of its elements. Haspelmath (1995: 1) defines morphological reanalysis as a “new way in which speakers understand the structure of a word by relating it to other words in a different, novel way.” Morphological reanalysis can be the source of new affixes or new words. Recent affix examples include *-tainment* based on *entertainment* as in *infotainment* and *irritainment*, and *-ista* as in *Blairista*, *Bushista* (Maxwell 2004). Morphological reanalysis often affects borrowed words, which language speakers expect to be at least partly motivated (Hughes 2000: 25). English examples include *woodchuck* from *otchig* (Bauer 2006b) and *cockroach* from Spanish *cucaracha* (Aronoff and Fudemann 2005).

New affix creation is a gradual process. Before the new formative reaches the status of an affix (usually achieved through frequency and semantic and morphological motivation) it is often considered a ‘combining form’.

The notion of ‘combining form’ ranges from final elements of neoclassical compounds (e.g. *-ology*, *-ography*, *-naut*, *-phile*), through novel, bound morphemes existing also as free roots, e.g. *-gate*, *-ware*; native lexical morphemes that increasingly attain the status of an affix, e.g. *-line*, *-friendly*; to shortened lexemes, e.g. *-a/-oholic*, *-a/-thon* and *Euro-* (Warren 1990, Fischer 1998: 22). In the narrow sense, the term ‘combining form’ refers to such a formative which, contrary to affixes and bound roots can combine with another formative of the same type, which is not the case for affixes in English. Most generally, however, it refers to elements that achieve morphemic status, for example, *-euro-*, *-a/-oholic*, or *-gate*, and are on the way to yielding new affixes.

2.6.2 Compounds

A compound is produced when two lexemes are put together to create a new one. According to Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 13), “compounding is the largest and most important source of new words in the English vocabulary, outside of borrowing.”

Compounding bridges vocabulary and syntax (Algeo 1998: 74) and compounds are seen as either “particular construction types” or “lexical units” (Bauer 2006c: 719) with frequency of occurrence being the major distinction. Bauer (2006c) illustrates the difference with the example of a newspaper headline: *PM backs mercy killings bill*, where *mercy killings bill* would be considered a compound from a construction type point of view but not from a lexical unit one. He postulates the former (i.e. particular construction types) as they differ only in frequency and no formal distinction can be drawn between the two groups.

The discussion of compounds in the literature (e.g. Koziol 1972, Adams 1973, Bauer 1988, ten Hacken 1994, Fabb 1998, Bauer and Renouf 2001, Plag 2003, Oshita 1995) is typically focused on orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria, all of which will be briefly presented next, using English examples.

In English, there is a lot of variation in compound writing. The same compound may be written as one orthographic word, two hyphenated words, and as two orthographic words, as in *desktop* (computer), *desk-top*, and *desk top*. All these spelling versions are easily attestable. The spelling variant is sometimes

attributed to the degree of novelty. Baugh and Cable (2002: 303) observe that many of the compounds are written with a hyphen or as separate words when they are new. Once their novelty wears out and they enter the common usage, compounds are usually written as a single word (Denning et al. 2007: 52)

In general, however, the use of hyphenated compounds, especially in noun-noun combinations, is declining. Over the past three decades an approximate 5% decline in hyphen usage has been observed (Rohrer 2007). This trend is also visible in the sixth edition of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* where hyphens were removed from 16,000 words (Rohrer 2007).

Suprasegmental features, such as stress, can sometimes distinguish compounds from syntactic phrases. In compound nouns, primary stress falls on the first item and secondary stress on the second word. In phrases, it is the reverse (7). In N+N compounds, however, stress is less consistent.

(7)	Compound	Phrase
	ˈgreen ˈfly	ˈgreen ˈfly
	ˈhot ˈdog	ˈhot ˈdog
	ˈblack ˈbird	ˈblack ˈbird

Since compounds are single lexemes, morphologically, the only inflection allowed should be the one affecting the whole compound. That is, inflections will not appear internally in a compound. For example, if we wanted to create a plural from *desk-top* it would not be **desks-tops* but *desk-tops*. There are many examples in English that support this rule. However, there are also items in English where internal inflection marking takes place, as in the previously quoted *mercy killings bill*.

Syntactic criteria focus on indicating that compounds can be treated syntactically as single units. Most compounds are ‘headed’, that is, one of the words making up the compound dominates it syntactically by passing its syntactic properties to the entire compound (Katamba 2005: 67). In English, compounds are normally ‘right-headed’, that is, the compound inherits its syntactic properties from the item at the right hand-side of the compound. For example, in the compound *highchair*, which is made up of the adjective *high* and a noun *chair*, the resulting compound is a noun. Semantically, the relations between the elements that constitute a compound are especially versatile. Denning et al. (2007: 55) give

the following illustration “in *footstep*, the noun *foot* specifies the subject of the action noun *step*. By contrast, *doorstep* uses *door* to specify the location of the noun *step*.” In both cases, however, there is a motivated link between the contributing elements and the resulting compound. There are many cases where this transparency is lost.

Various compound classifications have been offered depending on their semantic properties. Among the most commonly discussed types of compounds are “endocentric” and “exocentric” compounds (see Bloomfield 1933) which correspond to the Sanskrit types “tatpuruṣa” and “bahuvrīhi” respectively. In endocentric compounds the meaning is motivated. That is, it can be determined from both elements that build the compound (or one of the elements). For example, *keyboard* is the set or row of keys on a musical instrument or a typewriter, *highchair* is ‘a child’s chair with high legs’ and *joystick* is ‘a small lever that can be moved in any direction’. When the meaning is not determinable from any of the elements, and the compound has a different referent from itself, we talk of exocentric compounds such as *lazybones*, ‘a lazy person’ and *madhouse*, ‘a place of uproar or confusion’.

The discussion on compounding in English also includes “neoclassical formations”, that is, lexemes of Greek or Latin origin forming new words in English. These new formations are not attested in source languages, hence the term “neoclassical”. Neoclassical compounds include examples such as *biography*, *biology*, and *photograph*. Some linguists consider these forms derivations but the unique combinatorial properties, position of the elements, and the inclusion of the linking element make the forms best described as compounds (see also Plag 2003). Neoclassical elements can occur as initial combining forms, final combining forms or both.

2.6.3 Blends

Blends, also called “portmanteau words”, are, similar to compounds, an example of a word-building process based on fusion, where a new, single word is formed from two (rarely three or more) words, in which some of the phonetic (or orthographic) material has been removed. Blends form a complex category that tends to extend into compounding, affixation, clipping and even initialisms. Yet

unlike compounds, blends allow fusion of any lexical category.

The words *jazzercise* composed of *jazz* and *exercise*, *thinspiration* from *thin* + *inspiration*, and *wikipedia* from *wiki* and *encyclopedia* are all examples of blends (though Bauer 1983: 236 is of the view that their status is unclear as they might also be compounds created with one instance of clipping). They represent a category where one of the two bases has been kept intact and the other has been clipped off. Other blend categories include cases where both words undergo truncation as in *sitcom* (*situation* + *comedy*), *Spanglish* (*Spanish* + *English*), *telecast* (*television* + *broadcast*), and *commentariat* (*commentary* + *proletariat*). *Commentariat* also represents the case of partial overlap. When there is an overlap that allows for both base words to be fully present in a blend the repetition is avoided such as *guestimate* (*guess* + *estimate*) and *slangugae* (*slang* and *language*) (examples from Adams 1973: 154ff., Bauer 1988: 39), *netiquette* (*net* + *etiquette*). There are also examples when only the first word is shortened as in *mocamp* (*motor* + *camp*). Such blends are sometimes considered clipped compounds (Bat-El 2006).

Two base words usually produce only one possible blend (though there are some counterexamples). We have *sitcom* but not *comsit*, yet we also have *oxbridge* (*Oxford* + *Cambridge*) and *camford* (*Cambridge* + *Oxford*). The main restrictions in blend creation are pronouncability and spellability (e.g. Bauer 1983: 235, Kemmer 2003: 75, Gries 2004).

Bat-El (2006) notes that the formation of blends is governed by two principles reflecting competing tendencies. On the one hand, the truncation should allow the new blend to have the length of a single word. On the other hand, the blend should preserve as much as possible of the source words, to maximize semantic transparency that is, the recognizability of both source words. In his empirical study of blends, Gries (2004: 639) concludes: “The results show that the amount of material contributed by the words is determined by the degree of recognizability of the source words and that the similarity of source words to the blend plays a vital role in blend formation.”

Semantically, blends fall into two main groups: endocentric relations and exocentric relations. Fischer (1998) calls the latter dvanda-blends. In endocentric relations, one of the words takes the function of the semantic head whereas the other of a modifier as in *key* + *container* - *keytainer* (a container for keys).

Exocentric blends are composed of words of the same semantic status as in *stalker* + *paparazzi* → *stalkerazzi* a person who is both a stalker and paparazzi, and *modem*, a device that is a modulator as well as a demodulator.

As Bat-El (2006) points out, the semantic relation of the elements in a blend is not always clear. He gives the example of *smog* (*smoke* + *fog*), which has two meanings, an exocentric one - a mixture of smoke and fog, and an endocentric - airborne pollution. The distinction into endocentric and exocentric blends overlaps with the two classes of blend suggested by Plag (2003). In one, blends are based on existing compounds that are shortened to form a new word. Plag does not consider them blends proper (endocentric). According to him proper blends share the elements of both referents (exocentric), and are not typically attested as compounds in their full form.

2.6.4 Clipping

Word-building, as presented in this chapter so far, has involved the addition of an element to a base, as in the case of derivation; or the fusion of existing bases, as in the case of compounding. Clipping is the process of shortening, where a polysyllabic word is reduced while its original denotation and general function is retained. Though clippings became popular in the 18th century, the term itself was first used only in 1933 (Fischer 1998: 39).

Clippings are usually syllable based. López Rúa (2006: 676) classifies them as medium-size shortenings (where shortenings also cover abbreviations) “initially involving the phonological shape of a word, which then develops a graphic version with occasional spelling adjustments”. Established examples include *fab* from *fabulous*, *lab* from *laboratory*, *telecom* from *telecommunication*, *uni* from *university*, *condo* from *condominium* and more recently *blog* for *weblog*.

Clipped words tend to differ in style from their full counterparts. They are often less formal and often convey affectionate connotations and familiarity. Affection is usually conveyed in the reduction of proper names *Susie* for *Susan*, *Andy* for *Andrew* etc.

The last example also illustrates minor spelling adjustments not uncommon in clipping. These adjustments may involve replacement of the final vowel, as in *ammo* from *ammunition*, *lesbo* from *lesbian*, *ana* from *anorexia* or the addition of

a hypocoristic suffix. The most commonly added hypocoristic suffixes in English are -y/-ie as in *veggie* from *vegetable*, *hankie* and *hanky* from *handkerchief*, *cardy* from *cardigan*, *telly* from *television* and *comfy* from *comfortable*.

Though clippings are usually seen as equivalents to truncations, some linguists distinguish between different classes of truncations. For example, Plag (2003) categorises truncations into: truncated names (*Liz* for *Elisabeth*), -y diminutives (*Andy* for *Andrew*), and clippings (*fax* for *telefax*). We will not make such distinctions here.

Prototypical clippings have, as the source, one polysyllabic word-form and the shortening affects the final or initial syllables, *copter* from *helicopter* or *pop* from *popular*, with final shortening being more common. Other, less frequent types of clipping include shortening at both ends, such as *influenza* – *flu*, *refrigerator* – *fridge*, and source forms of more than one word, such as *pub* for *public house*, and *typo* for *typographical error*.

In scientific terminology, clippings are often more complex than the ones we have just discussed. Bauer (2003: 233f.) gives examples of *parylene* from *paraxylene*, and *phorate* from *phosphorodithioate*. He concludes that the only limitation to such clippings seems to be that the output should be a possible word, which makes scientific clippings similar to word manufacture.

López Rúa (2006) also mentions a group of marginal clippings that are instances of phonetic elision. We can have phonetic fore clipping (aphaeresis), phonetic midclipping (syncope), and phonetic hind clipping (apocope), as illustrated by the following example: '*fraid* from *afraid*. They are different from the afore-mentioned more central and typical clippings in that they are used mainly orally (in writing, an apostrophe marks these phonetic clippings).

2.6.5 Back-formation

Another method of enlarging the vocabulary is through back-formation, which Marchand (1969) called 'back derivation'. Back-formation is yet another word-building process involving subtraction. New words are formed by the deletion of an actual affix or, often, a supposed affix, that is, an element that has been reanalysed as an affix. Examples of back-formation include the verbs *edit*, derived

from *editor* and *peddle* from *peddler*, by the deletion of supposed suffixes *-or*, and *-er* respectively.

Back-formations are often created by analogy with established derivational and inflectional processes. They are the result of reanalysis. For back-formation to occur the appropriate formation rule that can serve as an analogy and pattern for reanalysis must also exist (see Bauer 1983: 231, Algeo 1998: 72f.). In the examples quoted above, the *-or* in *editor* is interpreted as an agentive suffix *-or* which attaches to verbs, as in *actor*, *facilitator*, *commentator* and so on. *Pea* from the borrowed term *pease* (singular) and *cherry* from *cherise* are examples of incorrectly analysed inflections where ‘s’ has been analysed as the English *-s* plural.

Back-formations are commonly created from compounds (Quirk et al. 1985). Marchand (1969), Adams (1973, 2001), and Katamba (2006), among others, distinguish three categories within compound-based back-formations:

- formed on source compound ending in *-er/-or* and *-ing* as in *gatecrasher* and the resulting *gatecrash*, *lipreading* - *lip-read*, *airconditioning* - *aircondition* and *fine-tuning* - *finetune*,
- formed on the source of the verb + PP such as *spring cleaning* from *cleaning during the spring*, and
- formed on compounds which have a participial adjective as a second element, *spoonfed* yielding *spoon feed*.

One of the most systematic studies of back-formation was conducted by Cannon (1987: 122ff.). He identified 151 back-formations in his corpus, of which 96 were verbs, 41 nouns and 14 adjectives, taken from *The Barnhart Dictionary of New English since 1963*, *The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English* and the Addenda Section to *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Interestingly, he found a lot of variation in patterns of back-formation. He isolated 52 different patterns, most of which are illustrated by only a single example. The only cases with numerous examples are verbs formed from nouns by the loss of *-ion*, *-er*, or *-ing*, and nouns formed from adjectives by the reduction of *-ic*. Cannon’s study supports Katamba’s (2006: 642) observation that back-formations are difficult to predict as they are sporadic and unsystematic (1.1% in Cannon’s data). They also exhibit different levels of acceptance. The *OED Online* lists about 500 back-formations with some well established members such as *beg*

from *beggar*, *sculpt* from *sculpture*, and *donate* from *donation*. Some marginal members include *intuit* from *intuition* or *aggress* from *aggression*.

In fact it is difficult, if not impossible, to see synchronically that *edit* was derived from *editor* and not *vice versa* as most examples of back-formation are no longer transparent. From a diachronic point of view, back-formation seems to work in the opposite way with respect to derivation, thus violating the predictions of the principle of directionality (concerned with the morphological and semantic growth). From a semantic point of view, back-formation often violates the principle of morphological complexity as back-formations are morphologically less complex (see Marchand 1969: 391ff.). Iacobini (2000: 872) suggests that “[o]ne must therefore ignore historical connection and consider derivational relationship in synchrony.”

2.6.6 Abbreviations: Acronyms & Alphabetisms

Abbreviations are the result of combining letters, usually the first letter or the first two letters, of multi-word sequences to form a new word.

There is no consensus among linguists as far as abbreviation terminology and distinction between various types of abbreviations is concerned (Crystal 1997: 120). What I have called here “abbreviations” (following Crystal 1997, Hughes 2000 and Plag 2003), are labeled as “acronyms” by Quirk et al. (1985), Aronoff and Fudemann (2005), Yule (2006), and López Rúa (2006). Denning et al. (2007) call these formations “initialisms”, Marchand (1969) “letter-words” and for Bauer (1988) they are “alphabet based formations”. In order to introduce some systematic terminology I will use the term abbreviations to refer generally to all alphabet based formations whereas the terms “acronym” and “alphabetisms” (used interchangeably with “initialisms”) will be restricted to specific subtypes.

Abbreviations are primarily graphic and can develop various phonic forms. If the new resulting form can be pronounced as a word, we deal with acronyms, for example, *Erasmus*, and *ASCII*. If the new form is pronounced as a series of letters they are referred to as alphabetisms or initialisms, for example *MA*, and *PDA* (see (8) for the input forms). There are also cases that do not allow easy classification. Some abbreviations can be classified as an acronym as well as an initialism. Consider *UFO* and *FAQ* which can be pronounced both as a string of letters and as

single words. There are also mixed cases pronounced as a combination of letter names and word. This is illustrated by *JPEG* and *CD ROM*. A separate group is formed by abbreviations that are used only in writing but are always pronounced as a full form such as *Mr.* or *Dr.*

Both acronyms and alphabetisms can be spelt with either capital or lower-case letters. Plag (2003: 127) provides a simplified systematized observation for spelling and pronunciation of abbreviations as illustrated in Table 2.1.

Spelling	Pronunciation	Example
in capitals	as alphabetism	CIA
in capitals	as acronym	NATO
in lower-case letters	as alphabetism	e.g.
in lower-case letters	as acronym	radar

Table 2.1: Spelling and pronunciation of abbreviations (Plag 2003: 127)

In the process of creating abbreviations, grammatical words, such as prepositions and conjunctions are usually omitted, as shown in (8). These examples also illustrate the lack of predictability of the output formations as there seems to be a lot of freedom permitting the new word to arise. In the first three examples (*MA*, *PDA* and *ASCII*), one initial letter is, indeed, taken from each lexical word (*Master*, *Arts*; *Public*, *Display*, *Affection*; and *American*, *Standard*, *Code*, *Information*, *Interchange* respectively) to form the abbreviation, with the grammatical words omitted. *ICAME*, *Erasmus* and *radar* are different cases. In *ICAME* only one M is taken to form the abbreviation so the resulting form is not *ICAMME*. (This can be explained by the fact that *ICAME* was originally an acronym for International Computer Archive of Modern English; and the “and Medieval” was a later addition). In *Erasmus*, the first word (*European*) contributes two letters whereas *community* does not contribute at all; and in the case of *radar*, more than one letter is taken from the first word and the initial letter from the conjunction is also incorporated.

- (8) MA Master of Arts
 PDA Public Display of Affection
 ASCII American Standard Code for Information
 Interchange

ICAME	<u>I</u> nternational <u>C</u> omputer <u>A</u> rchive of <u>M</u> odern and <u>M</u> edieval <u>E</u> nglish
Erasmus	<u>E</u> uropean Community <u>A</u> ction <u>S</u> cheme for the <u>M</u> obility of <u>U</u> niversity <u>S</u> tudents
radar	<u>r</u> adio <u>d</u> etecting <u>a</u> nd <u>r</u> anging

Bauer (1983: 238) gives additional examples of cases where more than one letter is taken from individual words to create an abbreviation, and moreover some of the letters do not come from the beginning of the words, as in *Arvin* (*Army of the Republic of Vietnam*). Sometimes acronyms merge into blends when more than one letter is taken from a word, for example, the German *Gestapo* (*Geheime Staats Polizei*) (Bauer 1988: 40).

Another problem with abbreviations, especially with acronyms, is that their input words (semantic motivation) are sometimes no longer traceable, that is, speakers may no longer be aware that a particular form originated as an acronym as is often the case with *scuba*, *sonar* and *radar*. Looking at the choice of homonymous acronyms and their semantic motivation, Fischer (1998: 33) distinguishes the following four types:

- Missing semantic link – when an acronym coincides with an existing word but there is no connection between them, as in *CAT* (*computerized axial tomography*),
- Semantic transfer – when the meaning of an existing word is transferred by metaphorization, metonymy and free association, as in *BASIC* (*Beginners All-Purpose Symbolic Instruction Code*),
- Stylistic association – when the acronym represents a pun, such as *WIMP* (*weakly interactive massive particle*),
- Implicit speech act – when it can be reinterpreted as a speech act, as in *WIN* (*whip inflation now*).

In the past decades, abbreviations have contributed heavily to the growth of vocabulary. The first edition of *Acronyms, Initialisms & Abbreviations Dictionary* (1960) provided definitions for 12,000 headwords; the 38th edition (2007) contains more than 885,000 abbreviations used in the English language. This shows an increase of more than 7000 percent.

The use of abbreviations (both acronyms and alphabetisms) is very common in technical, scientific and medical fields. Recently one of the most prolific sources of abbreviations has been the computer and Internet terminology. Consider *HTTP* (*Hypertext Transfer Protocol*), *www* (*world wide web*), *URL*

(*Uniform Resource Locator*), *rss* (*really simple syndication*), and so on. Another widespread phenomenon is basing abbreviations on common phrases or, in fact, any strings of words (see also Stockwell and Minkova 2001: 9), as in *asap* (*as soon as possible*), *afk* (*away from keyboard*), and *brb* (*be right back*).

2.6.7 Conversion

When an existing word changes its function, for example, when a verb comes to be used as a noun, but there are no alterations to its form, we talk about “conversion”. This word-building process has also been referred to as “zero derivation”, “zero affixation”, “functional shift” (Bauer 1983: 226ff.), and “category change” (Yule 2006: 56). Conversion also applies to cases where, due to phonological differences, stress or segmental make-up, differences arise, as in *'record_N* – *re'cord_V* or *relief* – *relieve*. The difference in pronunciation is often attributed to an operation of one element perceived as a kind of affix (thus zero derivation). This affix is referred to as “superfix” as “it neither precedes nor follows the word but floats above it in some metaphorical sense” (Denning et al. 2007: 57).

Recent examples of conversion in English include *email* and *spam*, as illustrated in (9) and (10) below. In both cases the nouns are converted into verbs.

- (9) You can check your email from anywhere in the world.
They emailed back to say there was a problem.
- (10) Feel secure with award-winning spam protection.
(<http://www.mail2web.com>)
Once again the Ron Paul “truthers” spam the Fox News post
debate poll.
(<http://186kps.com/2007/09/06/ron-paul-nuts-spam-fox-polls-again/>)

In English, conversion is a common process. Children frequently coin new words through conversion to amend for their limited vocabulary (Clark 1995: 393ff.). Some new verbs quoted by Clark (1995: 402) as spontaneously coined by children (2-5 year olds) are illustrated in (11)

- (11) SC (2;4, as his mother prepared to brush his hair): *Don't hair me*.
DM (3;0, pretending to be Superman): *I'm supermanning*.
FR (3;3, of a doll that disappeared): *I guess she magicked*.
KA (5;0): *Will you chocolate my milk?*

Compounds, derivatives, acronyms, blends, clippings, and even borrowings, plus, of course, simple words, can all act as bases for conversion. The process, however, operates mainly between nouns, verbs and adjectives.

If we look at the directionality of conversion, the following three patterns are most common: ‘noun → verb’ (e.g., *water*), ‘verb → noun’ (e.g., *jump*) and ‘adjective → verb’ (e.g., *dry*, *empty*) (Valera 2006: 172). Bauer (1983) also mentions a fourth pattern ‘adjective → noun’. The directionality of conversion cannot be determined without looking at the word’s history to see which word was first. Plag (2003) gives the example of the verb *to crowd*, which might be seen to have been derived from the noun *crowd*. However, historically, the verb preceded the noun. Apart from etymology, Plag (2003) suggests a whole range of criteria that can contribute to establishing the directionality of conversion, such as, semantic complexity, regular inflection patterns, and frequency of occurrence. That is converted items tend to be more semantically complex, follow regular inflection patterns, and are less frequently used.

Traditionally, partial and full (sometimes referred to as total or complete) conversion have been distinguished (cf. Don 1993, 2005, Valera 2006, Fernández-Domínguez 2007). If the converted word does not assume new inflections we talk about partial conversion, for example, adjective → noun conversion as in the case of *young* (not **youngs*) in *The young are having fun*. Full conversion takes place when the converted word adopts new inflections, for example, *to hammer* in, *He hammered the last nail into the wall*. Conversion may also give rise to substantial changes in meaning. Yule (2006: 57) illustrates it with the following example. The verb *to doctor* can have a negative connotation, which is absent in the source noun *doctor*. The same applies to the verb *total* based on the source noun.

2.6.8 Eponyms and Toponyms

Another source of new words in a language is the names of places and people. Words derived in this way are referred to as “eponyms” if they are based on the name of a person (real or fictitious), and “toponyms” if they are based on the name of a place.

The *OED Online* defines an eponym as “[a] proper name used generically; the generic name itself, or any noun phrase of specific meaning which includes a

proper name.” For example, the word *colt* as a type of firearm, was named after its inventor Samuel Colt and *curie* as a unit used in measuring radioactivity was named after Marie Curie, a Polish scientist. Eponyms are often used to name discoveries in biology, chemistry, physics or medicine (for a collected list of eponyms, see Douglas 1990). Examples of toponyms include words such as *jersey* after the name of the island, now generally referring to fine machine-knitted fabric, and *denim* from French “serge de Nîmes” (serge from Nîmes, a town in France where the cotton fabric originated).

Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 15ff.) distinguish four classes of words based on proper names depending on their origin: (i) based on personal names: examples are *cardigan* (after Earl of Cardigan), *nicotine* (after Jaques Nicot), and *diesel* engine (after Rudolf Diesel); (ii) based on geographical names: *cashmere* (after the name of a kingdom in the Western Himalayas), *El Dorado* (an area of wealth); (iii) based on names from literature, folklore and mythology: *Achilles* (as in Achilles’ heel), *atlas* (after the name of the Greek god who carried the universe on his shoulders), and (iv) based on commercial brand names: some originally brand names used in a generic sense nowadays: *escalator* - power driven stair system (owner: Otis Elevator Company), *velcro* – hook and loop fastener (Velcro Industries B.V.), *walkman* – handheld radio-cassette player (Sony Corporation) *scotch* (scotch tape) – cellophane adhesive tape (3M), *google* – to perform a Web-based search-engine query (Google, Inc.), and *band-aid* – plastic adhesive bandage strip (Johnson & Johnson).

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, a number of general methods to extend the lexicon of a language, and specifically the English lexicon, have been discussed. First we looked at word coinage, borrowing and semantic change. The main part of the chapter, however, was devoted to word-building. The established patterns of word-building were introduced; we looked at terminology, definitions, as well as various types of motivation (phonological, graphic, semantic, syntactic, stylistic and morphological). The discussion drew on theoretical as well as empirical studies reported in publications on morphology, semantics, lexicology and lexicography both synchronic and historical. Chapter 3 will focus specifically on neologisms. It

will provide a critical discussion of the most significant morphological approach to neology studies – productivity, and look at methodological issues of researching neologisms.

3. The study of lexical innovation

“Words, being but symbols by which people express their ideas, are an accurate measure of the range of their thoughts at any given time. (...) The date when a new word enters the language is in general the date when the object, experience, observation, or whatever it is that calls it forth has entered public consciousness”
(Baugh and Cable 2002: 301)

3.1 Introduction

Creating neologisms is not difficult or uncommon. The *New Oxford American Dictionary* lexicographers have just announced the winner of the “Word of The Year” 2007 competition – *locavore* (OUPblog). *Locavore* was coined in 2005 by a group of women in San Francisco who promoted the idea that people should only eat food grown locally. New words, like *locavore*, enter the language all the time, but what does it mean for a word to be new?

The previous chapter presented an overview of all the theoretical ways of extending the English lexicon. This chapter looks specifically at neologisms in the light of these previously discussed lexical extension processes. I review the terminology used in the relevant literature, and I also outline the terminology used in this project. The discussion in this chapter will be presented from two perspectives: lexicographic and morphological.

First, the various types of neologisms are considered, followed by a discussion of the problems with, as well as attitudes to, new formations. I illustrate the general problems encountered when attempting to observe new words using two specific examples: the words *bouncebackability* and *weblog*. These are followed by an overview of the major theoretical and empirical studies in neologisms, with special focus on morphological productivity and mechanisms regulating word coinage and spread.

I will begin with one fundamental idea underlying the coherent discussion of neologisms: their types and definition.

3.2 Neologisms: types and definition

The term ‘neologism’ is generally applied to new words, or new formatives that can yield new words. This observation may seem straightforward, but it raises several important questions. What does it mean for a word/formative to be new? How can we verify the novelty of the word? Is novelty an absolute notion, that is, can we classify all words as new or not new? These issues are discussed in this section.

3.2.1 Types of neologisms

What does it mean for a word to be new? This is, in fact, a two-fold question. First, we need to identify what has to be new about a word for it to be classified as a neologism. Secondly, we have to ask: for whom should the word be new?

If we look back at the ways of extending the lexicon (introduced in chapter 2) we can identify at least four types of neologisms (see also Helfrich 1993):

- morphological neologisms,
- semantic neologisms,
- loan neologisms, and
- coinage neologisms.

Morphological neologisms are new words based on existing words and patterns, formed by concatenation, shortening, or change of function. Their novelty depends directly on the (new) combination of elements hitherto not associated to one another. Thus, we may deal with well known elements or patterns, used in an innovative combination. For example, *jaguarness* is a new word formed on the pattern of nominal derivations by the suffix *-ness* applied to the noun *Jaguar* (a make of a car).

Existing forms that develop new senses are called semantic neologisms. Here the newness is not in the form but in the meaning. For example, in the context of computing, the word *mouse* has been assigned a new meaning.

Loan neologisms are words or formatives taken from other languages, usually with their original spelling and meaning. Although they are institutionalised in the donor language, they are new to the target language.

Coinage neologisms refer to words that are new in both form and meaning. This is the least common way of creating neologisms. Typically, coinages start out

as proper nouns, and are subsequently assigned other functions. A recent example of coinage is *Google*.

These four types are all part of the general concept of lexical neologism. The discussion in this chapter will, unless indicated otherwise, refer to neologism in the general sense of a lexical neologism, without specifying the sub-type.

Whether a word is classified as a neologism also depends on the intended audience. Here we have to make a distinction between morphological and lexicographic approaches to newness. The two perspectives differ largely in scope, that is, the forms and uses considered. They also assign different roles to the frequency of occurrence. Morphological and lexicographic definitions of neologism are discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 Definition of neologism

Though linguistic research on word-building often refers to “neologisms” (also called “new words” and “new coinages”), for a long time the term had been left without explanation or formal definition (Marchand 1969, Adams 1973, Bauer 1983, Cannon 1987). The situation has changed in recent years due to increased interest in word-building processes, and morphological productivity in general.

Despite numerous discussions and attempts at defining a neologism, it still remains a notational term that means different things to different researchers. Therefore, though intuitively understood, neologism remains a vague concept. Inconsistent terminological distinctions and the various status levels used only add to the confusion, as we shall see later.

According to Plag (2003: 52), a neologism is a derivative newly coined in a given time period. This is a very restrictive definition. Not only does it reduce neologisms to a particular word-building sub-type (derivation), it also restricts neologisms to the very first occurrence of the word in a language in a specific period. Although theoretically valid, this narrow definition does not prove useful in practical linguistic research as, in an overwhelming majority of cases, it is impossible to trace the origin of the word to its very first use, or to even observe the initial stages of its dissemination (see also section 3.3).

Stockwell and Minkova (2001) make a structural distinction between neologisms and new words. They give an extremely narrow definition of

neologisms by equating them with simple forms produced by word coining, whereas “new words” is a more general label encompassing all ways of lexical extension.

A more applicable explanation is provided by Bauer and Renouf (2001: 102), who suggest that “[a] word is deemed to be new when it appears for the first time in the chronologically stored, cumulative database.” Although Bauer and Renouf do not make any structural restrictions, their approach is not free from problems either, as they themselves acknowledge. Using their criterion, many words we find will indeed be new. However, we may also find some rare words that were previously dormant, words with unusual spellings, possessives of known words, as well as typographical errors. Interestingly, in another publication, Bauer (2001: 40) claims that a neologism is a purely diachronic concept, and as such is only identifiable in retrospect. He makes a distinction between words that appear only once, “nonce words”, and neologisms:

At the moment when a word is coined, it may not be possible to tell what its eventual status will be in a language: it may become part of the norm of the language and turn out to have been a neologism, or it may not, and remain as nonce word.

This suggests that a newly created word begins as “nonce formation”, and may or may not turn into a neologism – a view shared by several researchers (Quirk et al. 1985: 1534f., Algeo 1991, Fischer 1998, Aronoff and Fudemann 2005: 163). Nonce formations are often indicated in a discourse, for example, by the use of an explicit introduction such as ‘what one might call’, and ‘I shall refer to this as’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1535). Nonce formations that do not evolve into neologisms are also labelled ‘hapax legomena’ (see also section 3.6.4). However, the distinction between nonce-formations and neologisms is not universally recognized and the terms are often used synonymously.

Hohenhaus (2005) adopts a view similar to that of Bauer (2001). For him a neologism is a “historically young listeme”, a representation of the second step after the word has been coined. He positions neologisms on a cline between nonce-formations and institutionalised words, where institutionalisation is an antonym to nonce-formation. Institutionalisation means that a lexeme has a widely accepted inter-subjective status. It is a result of becoming ‘item-familiar’, a term also used by Bauer (1983) in referring to the successful spread of words “when the nonce

formation starts to be accepted by other speakers as a known lexical item” (Bauer 1983: 48). Hohenhaus (2006) additionally claims that “true” or “complete” institutionalisation takes place only when the word extends its semantic meaning, that is, it starts being used outside its original domain or when it serves as input for new coinages.

The lexicographic perspective of newness is much more pragmatic than the word-building perspective. Since the “What’s a new word?” question “can never be answered satisfactorily” (Tulloch 1991: v), lexicographically, a neologism is a form (word and phrase) that has not yet been added to general dictionaries. This implies certain frequency and coverage requirements. For a word to be included in a general dictionary it must occur with a certain frequency and in various communicative contexts. Algeo (1991), in the introduction to his dictionary of neologisms, explains what forms would be considered “a new word”:

The form of the word itself may be novel, a shape that has not been seen or heard in English (*flextime*, *phillumunist*, *ecotage*), or the newness may lie in a novel use of the existing form. In the latter case, the novelty may be in what the word refers to (*turf* as ‘a location, subject, or responsibility claimed as one’s own’), the word’s grammar (*looney tunes* developing from the name of an animated cartoon to an adjective ‘erratic, absurd’), or even its relationship to those who use it (British *toyboy* entering American use via supermarket tabloids).

Hargraves (2004: viii), the editor of *New Words*, explains the guidelines for designating words as new by posing the following questions which have to be answered in the affirmative: “Is there something genuinely innovative about the word? Has the word escaped a relatively narrow field of usage? Is the word likely to enjoy continuing currency?” Naturally, the criteria for the inclusion of new words may and do vary from dictionary to dictionary but the recently implemented computerized methods for data collection and verification of frequency patterns directly enhance the objectivity of dictionary compilations.

Comparing these two approaches, we can conclude that items that would be seen as neologisms linguistically would most likely be too infrequent and domain specific to be considered lexicographic neologisms. Additionally, linguistic neologisms would, in many cases, account for selected types of word-building, usually derivation or word coining, ignoring other ways in which the vocabulary can expand. Lexicographic neologisms would include words that have become

(permanent) members of the vocabulary, part of the norm of a large speech community, or at least have become frequent or fashionable enough to be included in a dictionary.

Combining these two approaches, we can identify three important stages in the life of a neologism: emergence (sometimes referred to as “actuation” and “lexicalisation”), spread, and institutionalisation (also called ‘attestation’). These stages are directly related to frequency and to coverage, and correspond to nonce formation, linguistic neologism, and lexicographic neologism respectively.

Although, following the approach of Plag (2003), the date of the first occurrence would be a useful indication of the absolute novelty of the word, it does not necessarily indicate the eventual status of the word in the language. Fischer (1998: 3) proposes a definition that bridges the linguistic and lexicographic perspectives: “a neologism is a word which has lost its status of a nonce-formation but is still one which is considered new by the majority of the members of a speech community.” This approach of ‘perceived novelty’, however, still leaves at least two important questions unanswered:

1. Whose lexicon?
2. What speech community should be considered when determining the novelty of a word?

We will look at these problems in detail during the discussion on qualitative approaches to productivity (section 3.6.3). For now, the definition suggested by Fischer (1998) will suffice.

3.3 General problems with observation

In the previous section we saw that the institutionalisation of a neologism may be easily traceable by consulting major dictionaries. The questions of whether we can observe the actuation stage and trace the spread of the word still remain. They will be addressed in this section.

In the English language, Shakespeare has over 2000 words attributed to him as ‘first recorded instances’ by *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* (Crystal 2006: 140). Of course, it is difficult to determine whether Shakespeare actually coined them, or whether he merely was the first whose usage of the terms was recorded in the *OED*. In general, it is very difficult to pinpoint the origin of a word

and observe its spread. Metcalf (2002: 15) summarized it as follows: “Most new words are born into obscurity. If their parentage was ever known, they soon become orphans, to be adopted or ignored by others.”

Usually we cannot be sure when exactly a word was created, who created it, or about its original context. Nor do we know the process of its initial dissemination in a speech community. In recent decades, thanks to advancements in digital technology and the overwhelming amount of human language that is stored and recorded, (see chapter 4), such endeavours appear a bit more realistic. In chapters 1 and 2, I cited two examples, *blurb* and *sputnik*, where word actuation was not only observable, but also well documented. Here are two more recent accounts of word origins and developments: *bouncebackability* and *weblog*. The word *bouncebackability*, according to Hohenhaus (2006), is an example of incomplete and artificial institutionalisation. *Weblog* on the other hand, illustrates an amazing success story and the full institutionalisation of a new word. Both words are well discussed in the relevant literature. Observation of their emergence and spread was made possible thanks to technological developments. Technology has also directly contributed to the dissemination of the two words, and in the case of *weblog*, even the coinage itself.

The case studies on these two words, presented below, demonstrate the problems with authorship assignment. They also illustrate the impact that fluctuating spread patterns may have on the novelty status of a word. Additionally, they support the arguments against the perception of a neologism as an absolute notion and demonstrate the usefulness of the definition proposed by Fischer (1998).

3.3.1 Example: *bouncebackability*

It is generally agreed that the term *bouncebackability* was coined in 2004 by Iain Dowie, the manager of the English football club Crystal Palace, to describe the team’s ability to recover from a setback – to bounce back (Cocozza 2004, Finkelstein 2004, Maxwell 2006b). When his team managed to come from a losing position and equalise against Arsenal, he said in an interview that “Crystal Palace have shown great *bouncebackability* against their opponents to really be back in this game” (Hohenhaus 2006: 19).

Semantically, *bouncebackability*, ‘the ability to bounce back’, is fully motivated. Morphologically, it appears to follow the established derivational pattern of *-ity* nominalisations of an adjectival base ending in *-able* as in *applicability*, *readability*, *codability* and *answerability*. The *OED Online* lists over 800 examples of different derivatives based on this pattern. Hohenhaus (ibid.) observes, however, that *bouncebackable* as the base for the *-ity* derivation violates the morpho-syntactic subcategorization rules, since *-able* normally attaches to transitive verbs. He dismisses the alternative etymology where *bouncebackability* is the result of compounding, [bounce back] + [ability], arguing that “as a compound we would expect compound fore-stress (probably on *back*), and not the natural derivation stress pattern that we do observe (i.e. on *ability*), when we actually hear the word uttered” (Hohenhaus 2006: 19).

The term spread rapidly in the original context of football. *Bouncebackability* became a football buzzword, attracting fan following and receiving public backing. Its popularity was reinforced by a campaign launched by the cult Sky TV programme *Soccer AM* “to get the word into “the dictionary” (most often the “Oxford Dictionary” (OED) is mentioned), including a couple of online petitions (...), and even a dedicated website where “bouncebackability” T-shirts were for sale” Hohenhaus (2006: 19). With time it also broadened its interpretation by modestly expanding to other sports disciplines, and eventually outside the original sports-related domain, as a general term.

The institutionalisation petitions appear to have been at least partly successful. Online dictionaries and websites, particularly those dedicated to colloquialisms and new words, for example, *urbandictionary.com* and *macmillandictionary.com*, have entries for it. The more established dictionaries have also recently included the word in their lists. The *Collins English Dictionary* defines *bouncebackability* as “the ability to recover after a setback, esp. in sport.” The term has even made it into the *OED Online* (as a draft entry in June 2006), which lists it as “The capacity to recover quickly or fully from a setback, bad situation, etc.” (Figure 3.1).

The screenshot shows the OED Online entry for 'bouncebackability, n.'. The entry is dated June 2006. It is categorized as 'Chiefly Sport.' and includes links for Pronunciation, Etymology, Quotations, and Date chart. The definition is 'The capacity to recover quickly or fully from a setback, bad situation, etc.' The 'Quotations' section lists several examples: '[1961 *Times Recorder* (Zanesville, Ohio) 18 Apr. 2B/1 The Tribe demonstrated its bounce-back ability in a three-game series with Washington, taking the set 2-1. 1972 *Manitowoc* (Wisconsin) *Herald-Times* 25 May M3/2 The 'bounce-back-ability' is a valuable asset to the manager. 1991 *Economist* 5 Oct. 20/2 New York will again demonstrate its bouncebackability. 2005 *Daily Record* (Glasgow) (Nexis) 13 Apr. 3 We then showed some true bouncebackability when we equalised with a fine header from Christie.]'

Figure 3.1: *Bouncebackability* - entry from the *OED Online*

What is particularly interesting is the fact that the *OED Online* actually antedates the term quoting examples from as early as 1961 and 1972:

[1961 *Times Recorder* (Zanesville, Ohio) 18 Apr. 2B/1 The Tribe demonstrated its bounce-back ability in a three-game series with Washington, taking the set 2-1. 1972 *Manitowoc* (Wisconsin) *Herald-Times* 25 May M3/2 The 'bounce-back-ability' is a valuable asset to the manager.

Of course, one may argue that these earliest examples might be cases of compounding. This claim can indeed be supported if we look at the orthographic convention, *bounce-back ability* and *bounce-back-ability*, which is uncharacteristic of derivation, and lack of information on the stress pattern. Such arguments, however, do not hold for the *OED*'s illustration from *The Economist* from 1991, which still precedes Dowie's 2004 coinage.

The *OED* examples indicate that this word, although in fact coined earlier, was previously dormant. At the same time this brief case study demonstrates the futility, in most cases, of the task of assigning authorship if we perceive it as a unique notion and "once only" event. Metcalf (2002: 97) summarises it as follows:

Not only are words easily born, they are also easily reborn. The majority of new words that endure are coined not just once, but many times before they become established. The circumstances that tempt one inventor are also there for another.

Consequently, looking for the very first coinage is not only challenging but also often misplaced, as words get coined and re-coined on a regular basis.

3.3.2 Example: *weblog*

The term *weblog* was first used in December 1997. Its coinage is commonly

attributed to Barger, who called his newly set up website "WebLog" (Blood 2000, Kahney 2000).

The original coinage is semantically fully motivated. Barger's website was a kind of day-to-day log of his reading and intellectual pursuit on the Web. Such "logs" existed even earlier on the web but their authors assigned no name for their activities (see section 5.2). Morphologically, *weblog* is an interesting case. It is an endocentric compound, [web]+[log], where the first formative, *web*, is a clipped form of the compound *World Wide Web* and *log* is a simple lexeme. The term was soon de-capitalized from *WebLog* to *weblog*. In 1999, *weblog* was clipped to *blog* by Merholz (Merholz 2002). He explains in his blog "I've decided to pronounce the word "weblog" as wee'- blog. Or "blog" for short" (ibid.). The clipping of *weblog* to *blog* has affected the semantic motivation of the word.

The rapid spread of the terms *blog* and *weblog* in English, and in other languages (as a borrowing from English), was a direct reflection of the sudden, immense popularity of this new Web tool. This would not have been possible on such a scale had it not been for the launch of free blog creating Web tools, which moved blogs from a niche application to a fashionable tool in early 2000 and made them available for mainstream Internet users. By 2002, blogging had already attracted mass media interest, resulting in a plethora of publications discussing the blogging phenomenon, for example, "Invasion of the 'Blog': A Parallel Web of Personal Journals" in *The New York Times* (December 28, 2000), "It is as easy as falling of a weblog" in *The Guardian* (October 5, 2000), "Been 'blogging'? Web discourse hits higher level" in *The Seattle Times* (April 1, 2001), "A Day-by-Day In the Life" in *The Washington Post* (May 17, 2001), "The Blog Phenomenon" in *PC Magazine* (February 26, 2002), and *The Wall Street Journal* on "Blogging for Beginners: What You Need to Know to Start a Weblog" (July 10, 2002).

Increased mass media exposure, as well as the rapid growth of the number of (we)blogs worldwide, contributed to the institutionalisation of both terms. As with *bouncebackability*, *blog* and *weblog* were first added to online dictionaries and websites dedicated to new words. Major dictionaries soon followed, and included the terms in their entry lists. For example, the *OED Online* published a draft entry for *blog* in March 2003 (Figure 3.2). The term was also added to the 10th revised edition of the *Chambers Dictionary* (2006). It is important to note that although the term "blog" is a clipped version of "weblog" and both terms are

synonymous, it is *blog* that is usually considered a main entry and is more commonly used nowadays. A search on Google returns more than 2 billion hits for *blog* and more than 150 million for *weblog* (search performed on 15 October 2007).

The screenshot shows the OED Online entry for 'blog, n.'. At the top right, it says 'DRAFT ENTRY Mar. 2003'. Below the title, there are tabs for 'Pronunciation', 'Spellings', 'Etymology', 'Quotations', and 'Date chart'. The entry text starts with '[Shortened < [WEBLOG](#) n. 1999 TBTF for 1999-08-30: Aibo Rampant in cistron.lists (Usenet newsgroup) 30 Aug., Blog., a Web log... First spotted on the Eatonweb blog, er, Web log on 1999-08-25, though Eatonweb's proprietor Brigitte says the coinage is due to our very own TBTF Irregular Peter Merholz.]' followed by '= *[WEBLOG](#) n. 2.' A light blue box contains a detailed etymology: '[1999 *www.bradlands.com* (weblog diary) 23 May, Cam points out lemonyellow.com and PeterMe decides the proper way to say 'weblog' is 'wee'- blog' (Tee-hee!).] 1999 P. MERHOLZ in *peterme.com* (weblog diary) 28 May, For those keeping score on blog commentary from outside the blog community. 1999 *Scotsman* (Nexis) 30 Aug., Many of the early 'blogs link to one another and have built quite a community of webbloggers—the authors who maintain them. 2002 *Salina Jrnl.* 21 Apr. B6/3 Blogs..contain daily musings about news, dating, marriage, divorce, children, politics in the Middle East..or millions of other things or nothing at all.'

Figure 3.2: *Blog* - entry from the *OED Online*

The popularity of the term *blog* enabled the word to be entered into dictionaries at record pace. *Blog* was also selected “Dictionary word of the year” in 2004 by *Merriam-Webster* as it was the most looked-up word on its Internet site in that year (see Figure 3.3).

The screenshot shows the Merriam-Webster's Words of the Year 2004 announcement. It features a dark blue header with 'Merriam-Webster's Words of the Year 2004' in white. Below this, a light blue box contains the text 'Merriam-Webster's Words of the Year 2004'. The main text reads: 'Based on your online lookups, the #1 Word of the Year for 2004 was'. A box below contains the definition: '**Blog** noun [short for *Weblog*] (1999) : a Web site that contains an online personal journal with reflections, comments, and often hyperlinks provided by the writer'.

Figure 3.3: *Blog* - Merriam-Webster's Word of the Year 2004

A year earlier, in 2003, it had been selected “the most likely word to succeed” by the American Dialect Society at the annual Words of the Year (WOTY) conference. Following this victory, the entry for *blog* was included in the

subsequent issue of *American Speech* (Glowka et al. 2003). The complete entry is reproduced in Figure 3.4. It still remains one of the best illustrated entries for the term with citations provided by, among others, John Algeo, David K. Barnhart, and Michael Quinion.

blog [Web + log] **1:** *n* Personal Web site full of commentaries, some of which concern the mundane events of the site owner's life and offer links to other sites of interest to the site owner **2000** May 16 Doug Bedell *San Diego Union-Tribune* Computer Link 8 (*Dallas Morning News*; Lexis-Nexis) They are called weblogs—blogs for short. In the space of a mere two years, this new breed of Web site has begun changing the way Net denizens navigate through the Internet's sometimes mind-boggling info-clutter. . . . Blogs are enigmatic. Not even those who created this growing genre can agree on a definition. . . . But one thing is certain: These personal, energetic, heavily linked commentary pages have struck a resounding chord with Web surfers seeking alternative but reliable guides through the tangled jungle of Internet news, entertainment and general e-silliness. "You know how people nudge each other and say, 'Holy crap! Get a load of that!'," says Derek Powazek, award-winning designer of Fray, Kvetch and other smart Web sites. [¶] "That's what a weblog does." [¶] The explanation seemed to sit as well as any with an audience gathered recently for an intense panel discussion in Austin, Texas, on weblogging, which Powazek ([http:// www.powazek.com](http://www.powazek.com)) moderated. Still, as the number of cataloged blogs has swelled from a handful to many hundreds, commonalities have grown harder and harder to pinpoint. [¶] Text-friendly [¶] By and large, weblogs shun heavy graphics. Blogs are bursts of text and hypertext packaged chronologically, mapping the designer's treks across the Internet and pointing out noteworthy sights along the way. The most successful collect wide followings of users who feel simpatico with the creator's tastes for news, offbeat information and collections of fascinating info. **2002** May 19 Lynnell Burkett *San Antonio Express-News* 2G (Lexis-Nexis; head & text) Are media being blogrolled? / Have you run across this hot new term? Blog? Or blogger? [¶] I just caught up to it recently when a friend sent an e-mail asking what I thought it would do to the future of journalism. Naturally, that question grabbed my attention, so I dived into the world of the blog. [¶] A blog is shorthand for "Web log," which has become a big thing on the Internet. A blogger is someone who has a Web Log. Just as anyone, with a little help, can set up a Web *american speech* 78.2 (2003) 230 page, anyone, with a little help, can include a blog—a free-wheeling conversation that can dig deeply into a single subject or travel all over the map. It can include links to all kinds of other sites as well, so that one can move from site to site to pursue an interest in a particular item. **2003** Jan 30 Jenny Sinclair *Age* (Melbourne) Green Guide Livewire 3 (Lexis-Nexis) TOP BLOG [*sic*]— Samuel Pepys [¶] This blog is almost 350 years old. Inspired by the proliferation of online diaries, Phil Gyford came up with the bright idea of posting the famed diaries of Samuel Pepys on the Web—not all at once, but day by day. **2:** *v* Produce or maintain such a Web site **2000** May 16 Doug Bedell *San Diego Union-Tribune* Computer

Link 8 (*Dallas Morning News*; Lexis-Nexis) Some of the movement's founders, in fact, deny they're even blogging. **2003** Jan16 Noah Shachtman *New York Times* G5/1 (Lexis-Nexis) But it's not just readers' expectations that keep Mr. [Glenn] Reynolds blogging. **3:** v Link a Web posting to such a Web site **2001** Oct 21 Monica Collins *Boston Herald* 24 (Lexis-Nexis) [Sarah] Bunting's essay was blogged on many post-Sept. 11 sites. I found her via www.diarist.net—a list of links to eyewitness accounts of the terror in New York and Washington. (Most Likely to Succeed)

Figure 3.4: Blog entry in “Among the New Words” (Glowka et al. 2003: 229f.)

Both *blog* and *bouncebackability* are examples of success stories. However, their degree of spread and institutionalisation differ considerably, one might say contradictory to their potential. *Blog* owes its success largely to the immense popularity of the corresponding software tools, though, semantically, its use is quite restricted. It has also served as an input for numerous new coinages, which will be discussed at length in chapter 7. *Bouncebackability*, on the other hand, could be more readily used outside its original domain (e.g., in business or politics) but seldom is. It cannot serve as input for new coinages.

3.4 Attitudes towards neologisms

Language is an expression of civilisation, and “the words that are central to our discourse at any time are tokens of the way we view and respond to the world. Vocabulary, more than any other aspect of language, is inextricably connected with our total culture” (Algeo 1998: 91). Changes in culture are generally accompanied by changes in vocabulary including the introduction of new words. This section will discuss attitudes towards new words. We will also look at attempts at regulating the lexicon.

Although change is an integral characteristic of language, many people would like to conserve the language the way they know it. Throughout the centuries, new vocabulary items triggered individual and group objections. For example, in the 18th century objections were most pronounced towards foreign borrowings, especially from French (Baugh and Cable 2002: 287). Such prominent figures as Defoe, Dryden and Addison put up a fight for language purity against the corruption of language through borrowings from other languages. In the late 20th century, language purists focussed also on protecting English from the corrupting influence of other varieties such as American English. Prince Charles,

speaking about American English, warned about its corrupting influence and the consequent degradation of language: “People tend to invent all sorts of nouns and verbs and make words that shouldn't be. I think we have to be a bit careful; otherwise the whole thing can get rather a mess” (*The Times* March 24, 1995). The fight for language purity is not only the domain of prominent figures like those mentioned above. It is not uncommon for ordinary people to write letters to newspapers advocating resistance to neologisms and preservation of words that are disappearing from use.

Language purists generally equate language change (including change in vocabulary) to language degradation. As a result, at various stages in English history, self-appointed elite, people who felt responsible or authorised to preserve and protect the language, formed bodies of authority to regulate the change and impose “correct” language on people. I will mention two examples directly relevant to the study of vocabulary.

In 1664, two years after its foundation, The Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge (Royal Society for short) adopted a resolution to “improve the English tongue”. To that end, a special committee of its own members was appointed. Birch’s *The history of the Royal Society of London [1660-1687]* (I, p. 499 quoted in Freeman 1924: 294) records the vote of the Society as follows:

It being suggested that there were persons of the Society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, particularly for philosophic purposes, it was voted that there should be a committee for improving the English language; and that they should meet at Sir Peter Wyche’s lodgings in Gray’s-Inn once or twice a month, and give an account of their proceedings, when called upon.

Contrary to its far-reaching plans, the committee “achieved no tangible result, and failed in its attempt to found an authoritative arbiter over the English tongue” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* 2007).

A similar attempt took place in the 20th century (Schwyter, to appear). Between 1926 and 1939, the BBC set up an Advisory Committee on Spoken English. In 1935, the BBC Sub-Committee for the Invention of New Words was created. This sub-committee consisted of ten members, all established scholars such as Daniel Jones, Professor at University College London and the compiler of *The English Pronunciation Dictionary*, and the subcommittees’ chairman, Logan

Pearsall Smith, a founding member of the Society for Pure English. The sub-committee was responsible for the selection, approval and propagation of new vocabulary. Their tasks included, among others, the choice of terminology in situations when there were two competing forms, replacement of undesirable words, identification of deficiencies in language, lexical gaps, and suggestion of solutions. For example, the committee looked for a word to replace *televviewer*. Among their suggestions were *glancer*, *teleseer*, *televist*, *looker-in*, *teleobserver*, *teleobservist* and so on. In spite of ambitious attempts, the influence of this self-appointed body was, again, marginal.

Since the mid-20th century, the authoritative role previously played by the elite has been taken over by journalism and new media in general. Baugh and Cable (2002: 307) observe that “Newspapers and popular magazines not only play a large part in spreading new locutions among the people but are themselves fertile producers of new words.” As we will see later in the next section, many modern dictionaries, particularly dictionaries of neologisms, use newspapers and magazines as their principal source of data.

In the age of the Internet, printing and broadcasting, which originally served as gatekeeping mechanisms to promote a standard and fix the language, are nowadays contributing to the fluidity and promotion of vernacular, or in-group, language. According to Graddol (2000: 51), the Internet is directly responsible for “the breakdown of gatekeeping and the shift of control to ordinary users.” As a consequence “English, apparently belonging to everyone, is the responsibility of no one. It has no champion, no guardian, no legal eagles to watch for passing off” (Hughes 1988: 249). The opinion expressed by Hughes is somewhat extreme. There does still exist various regulating, or at least recording mechanisms, among others, dictionaries. Most notably, the *OED* is still considered an authority in describing language and authenticating new words. Lexical changes are carefully recorded and discussed in a growing number of dictionaries and other publications focusing specifically on new words.

It is questionable whether gatekeeping mechanisms, in the form of an elite group imposing a particular language structure or use, can regulate the evolution of a language in the long run. For example, many of the French borrowings criticized in the 18th century are still used and the attempts to eliminate them “show the futility of trying to interfere with the natural course of linguistic history” (Baugh

and Cable 2002: 270). Already in the 18th century, Samuel Johnson had postulated the policy of non-interference. He believed that “language has a way of taking care of itself, and that features which appear objectionable to one age are either accepted by the next or have been eliminated by that time” (Baugh and Cable 2002: 270). Some of these regulating factors will be discussed in detail later (section 3.8).

3.5 Lexicographic interest in new words

With the help of modern technology and unprecedented levels of resources, recent and current innovations are easier to trace than the historical changes in the lexicon. Of course, problems of documentation, continuity, and identification still exist (Algeo 1998: 82). This section will discuss selected lexicographic collections of neologisms, such as dictionaries, regular journal columns, and resources on the Internet, that reflect increased interest in vocabulary in general.

3.5.1 Print collections of neologisms

All major publishing houses have their dictionaries of new words. The examples discussed in this section are presented in chronological order.

The Oxford English Dictionary Supplement (1972-1986) is a four-volume supplement to the *OED*. It augments the existing 414,825 words of the *OED* by another 63,000 new words (Hughes 1998: 3). The supplement includes words not in the original dictionary because they had been initially overlooked. Hence, as observed by Algeo (1998: 82), some of the “‘new’ words are rather old.”

The Barnhart Dictionary of New English was published in three consecutive volumes as *The Barnhart Dictionary of New English Since 1963* in 1973, *The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English* in 1980 and *The Third Barnhart Dictionary of New English* in 1990. The third dictionary is an updated and expanded version of the two preceding ones (as its subtitle *Three Decades of Changes and Additions to the English Language* suggests). The approximately 8,500 entries included in this volume span the period from the 1950s to the late 1980s (Rapp 1992). *The Third Barnhart Dictionary of New English* includes revised existing entries, items that existed before but joined the common vocabulary only at the time of compilation, as well as entirely new records.

The Facts on File Dictionary of New Words (1988) was first published as *The New Words Dictionary* in 1985. It started as a compilation of little over 300 entries from a variety of sources (including spoken language), with concise definitions. The 1988 edition contains 500 entries that reflect mainstream words not found in standard dictionaries.

The Longman Register of New Words was published in two volumes in 1989 and 1990. It is a collection of over 1,000 new words per volume chosen mainly from British newspapers and journals. Apart from the definition and the contextual illustration from actual press quotations, many entries include an interpretation of the origins of the neologism in question and a discussion on its emerging usage.

Both editions of *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1991 and 1997) list approximately 2,000 new words used in the media in the eighties and nineties. The words have been selected from the files and databases of the Oxford Dictionary Department. The criterion for including words was not just that they were newly coined but rather that the general public was aware of them as well. In addition to the definition, examples and detailed etymology, where possible, the entries are also thematically coded with graphic icons indicating the context of use.

Other publications on neologisms include:

- *12,000 Words: A Supplement to Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1986) which is an independent compilation of the "Addenda Section" to the *Webster's Third* (1961);
- *Tuttle Dictionary of New Words: since 1960* (Green 1992) which covers nearly 2,700 new words, wide semantic range of vocabulary;
- *Trash Cash, Fizzbos, and Flatliners. A dictionary of Today's Words.* (Lerner and Belkin 1993) a collection of the ephemeral coinages from a variety of spoken and written sources;
- *20th Century Words* (Ayto 1999) and *A Century of New Words* (Ayto 2006) both document lexical growth areas through the selection of the most prominent terms in each decade based on data from the *OED* and its supplements.

Neologisms have also been extensively documented in journals and periodicals. I will mention only two examples: *The Barnhart Dictionary Companion* and *American Speech*.

The Barnhart Dictionary Companion (1982-) is a quarterly newsletter published by Lexik House Publishers recording the growing English vocabulary (new words, meanings and changes in usage). It provides approximately 1,500 new entries every year.

American Speech, a journal of the American Dialect Society, has regularly published articles on neologisms since 1941 in a special column: “Among the new words”. The first 113 instalments that originally appeared between 1941 and 1991 have been compiled into a dictionary *Fifty Years Among the New Words: A dictionary of Neologisms, 1941-1991* (Algeo 1991).

Although numerous, traditional print publications on neologisms have several shortcomings. Print publications are time and space restricted and cannot provide up-to-date accounts of all innovations. For example, the latest (second) edition of the *OED* was published in 1989 and the third edition is still in progress. Many dictionary publishers remedy this situation by resorting to frequently updated online publications, as we will see in the next section.

3.5.2 Internet word hunting

Many major dictionaries are now available in online editions as well. This transition is relevant to the study of neology as it enables the publishers to update the dictionary as, and when, necessary. Advances in technology have not only speeded up the compilation process, they have also increased the amount of data available. The online versions also provide easy browsing and search facilities.

The *OED Online* has been available since March 2000. It provides access to entries of the second edition of the *OED*. It also includes quarterly additions of new and revised material of an impressive approximately 1,000 words each quarter. The quarterly editions usually contain two sections: the “alphabetical range updates” and “new entries from across the alphabet”. The alphabetical range updates consist of thoroughly revised and updated main entries. For example, the September 2007 update had 147 entries ranging from *porter* to *purposive*, and numerous corresponding new subordinate entries. Out-of-sequence new entries,

include new head entries, subordinate entries and new meanings for existing entries from across the alphabet. The afore-mentioned September 2007 update added 112 new main entries ranging from *abdominoplasty* to *ya-yas*.

The Macmillan English Dictionary has published a monthly webzine, *MED Magazine* since 2002. The webzine has a regular column dedicated to neologisms “New word of the month”. The main Macmillan website also contains a “Word of the Week” feature. Interestingly, among the nearly 2000 new headwords that made it into the second edition of *The Macmillan English Dictionary* (2007), approximately one fifth had been discussed previously in the word of the week and word of the month sections.

The Internet has also democratised lexicography. Nowadays, anybody can compile collections of neologisms and make these compilations publicly available on the Internet. Such compilations may take the form of online dictionaries such as *Urban Dictionary*, *Double-Tongued Dictionary* and *NetLingo*. *Urban Dictionary* (www.urbandictionary.com), which records street slang terms, is an open source website, and allows any user to contribute (i.e., create and modify the content). Another open source website is *Double-Tongued Dictionary* (www.doubletongued.org). It collects words from slang, jargon and generally new words that are undocumented or poorly covered in mainstream dictionaries. *NetLingo* (www.netlingo.com) is a dictionary of Internet terminology and online slang. Worth mentioning is also a regular column “On Language” by William Safire in *The New York Times* (www.nytimes.com).

There are also many websites and blogs that have been hunting and discussing new words such as *Word Spy* (www.wordspy.com), *The Word Detective* (www.word-detective.com), *World Wide Words* (www.worldwidewords.org), and *Word Mint* (www.wordmint.blogspot.com).

3.6 Morphological interest in new words

Morphologically, neologisms are seen as the outcome of productive word-building processes. Therefore morphological interest in new words is inextricably related to productivity studies. The ability to form and understand novel forms, productivity, in its most general sense, is an essential feature of human language. This section will introduce the notion of productivity and provide an overview of the ways,

methods and concerns of the study of lexical innovation as seen through the productivity research.

The fundamental observations about productivity are easy and relatively uncontroversial to make. However, when we take a closer look at this phenomenon, a number of puzzling questions emerge. In the past three decades, morphology has made considerable advances, and has attracted much attention. Over this period, there is hardly any publication on morphology where productivity is not discussed. This section will focus on relevant aspects regarding morphological productivity, starting with an outline of the morphological background of productivity.

3.6.1 Morphological background

Several explanations have been presented about the nature of morphological productivity (Aronoff 1976, Van Marle 1985, Baayen 1992, Plag 1999, Bauer 2001). Let us begin with the following observation about the nature of morphology that lies behind productivity, made by Aronoff (1976: 35):

Productivity is one of the central mysteries of derivational morphology. It is the root of the strange and persistent fact that, though many things are possible in morphology, some are more possible than others.

That is, although many things are possible, some are more likely to be realized than others. This observation can be interpreted at two different levels: as a general statement about the morphological processes (here limited only to derivational processes), and a statement about words. At this point several questions arise:

1. Why should the discussion be limited only to derivational morphology?
2. Which processes within the derivational subgroup are more possible than others, and why?
3. Which words are more possible than others, and why?

Inherent in the last two questions is the following: what are the factors making “things possible”? This question will be discussed later. Let us now turn to the general considerations one by one. The discussion that follows is based on the view of the majority of scholars; I will not consider alternative views here. Throughout the discussion I will refer back to examples in (1) supplementing them with current analysis.

- (1) *CURL, productivity, connectiveness, Bollywood, narrowth, bigly, keyboardology*;

When discussing lexicon extension, word-building processes do not all have the same potential. In fact, word-building processes can be further subdivided, on the basis of their potential to yield new forms, into ‘word-formation’ and ‘word-manufacturing’ (see Szymanek 1989). Word-formation encompasses rule-governed and potentially productive processes in morphology such as derivation and compounding. Unpredictable marginal coinages, not necessarily rule governed (e.g. acronyms, blends, analogical formations) are ascribed to word manufacturing, where, as Marchand (1969: 452) claims, “more or less arbitrary parts of words may be welded into an artificial new word.” This division explains the prevailing attitude in the literature to investigate productivity in word-formation processes (in the sense mentioned above). Therefore, if we look at the words in (1) again, only *productivity*, *connectiveness*, *narrowth*, and *bigly* would be of interest to us. *Keyboardology* is a borderline case, as the status of *-logy*, and neoclassical formations in general, are not all that clear. *CURL*, an abbreviation, and *Bollywood*, a blend, would be excluded from the discussion.

To answer the third question we need to first consider the position of morphology and the structure of the lexicon, as well as the position of the word in morphology and in the lexicon. Aronoff and Anshen (1998: 237) say that the morphology of a language deals with “the internal structure of the potential complex words of a language”. Lexicon, on the other hand, deals with the existing items in the language. In this way, words that are in the lexicon are listed. One could say that the existing words comprise all the words in a comprehensive dictionary. In this view, *productivity*, *Bollywood* and *bigly*, would be actual, attested words since we can find them in dictionaries such as the *OED* or *Merriam-Webster*. A potential word is an unlisted word, something that could be a word but is not. For example, the words (1) *connectiveness*, and *keyboardology* do not exist in dictionaries (yet), but are morphologically well-formed complex words. By ‘well-formed’ I refer to their morphological transparency. For example, *connectiveness* can be decomposed into elements: adjective *connective*, and the de-adjectival noun-forming suffix *-ness*. The adjectival base for *-ness* suffixation is in this case a complex base *connect*, *-ive*. The suffix *-ity* also makes nouns from

adjectives, for example, *connectivity*. They have a similar function and meaning. Similarly, *-th* is another suffix that forms nouns from adjectives, for example, *width*. The sense of this suffix is similar to *-ness*. Consider *depth* and *deepness*. *Narrowth* would mean the same as *narrowness* if it existed. But only *-ness* can be called productive since *-th* has not been used to form a new word in 400 years (see Marchand 1969).

The lexicon represented in the dictionary is often assumed to be that of the (hypothetical) native speaker, yet the lexicon of a real speaker is likely to be quite limited, and probably has restricted access to certain registers. Are we then talking about *narrowth*, *connectiveness* and *connectivity* on an abstract language level or do we mean specific speakers or groups who use it? When we consider the language of an individual, a word that meets all the criteria to be a word of a language but is not in the individual's mental lexicon is not a word for that person, though it may exist for another person. *CURL* and *keyboardology* would be a good example. *CURL* stands for 'Circle of Upper Rhine Linguists' (a group of linguists from the English Departments of Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel and Strassbourg/Mulhouse Universities). *Keyboardology* is a word from my (Polish) lexicon; it meets some of the criteria for a neoclassical formation, but in fact it is a direct translation from Polish *klawiszologia*. Therefore, any discussion on morphology and productivity must specify what kind of morphology and what kind of lexicon are we taking into consideration – abstract, of an individual, of a group, and so on.

3.6.2 Morphological productivity

Morphological productivity is generally viewed as some kind of ability on the part of the speaker, or a feature of the language itself, to give rise to new forms. In spite of the long research tradition into this phenomenon its nature remains obscure. The current state of affairs can still be summarized in the words of Aronoff (1976: 35) published over three decades ago: "The term productivity is widely used in the studies of derivational morphology, and there is obviously some intuition behind the usage, but most of the discussion is rather vague." It is really difficult to get a coherent picture of what morphological productivity is, because the discussions are based on different frameworks, focus on different aspects, and are either very

general or extremely detailed. Is it a purely morphological phenomenon, or rather a general cognitive ability that cannot be captured within morphology alone? Language acquisition researchers focus on the language productivity with respect to the user, such as a child acquiring the language (e.g., Clark 1993, 1998), or second/foreign language acquisition among adults (e.g., Lessard and Levinson 1999), and then call it “lexical productivity”. Morphologists focus on the language rather than the user. Statisticians focus on quantifying the data. Most of the weaknesses of the proposed approaches seem to stem from the inability of theoretical, applied, and quantitative linguistics to cooperate. It is not surprising then that 20 years later Bauer (1996: 19) still called productivity a “problem child of morphological studies”.

Facing the choice of whether to present the opinions on productivity of particular scholars or to organize the discussion around the different parameters, I have chosen the latter. The discussion that follows will be placed within two main streams, qualitative and quantitative approaches to morphological productivity.

3.6.3 Qualitative approaches to productivity

In qualitative approaches to productivity, an attempt is made to answer the question “to whom, how, what, what type and when” does productivity apply. Quantitative approaches try to measure “how much and to what extent” we can talk about productivity. This section is organized around the main qualitative questions.

The first problem concerns the restriction that we can only talk about productivity when we consider a native speaker of a particular language. Bauer (1983: 63) attributes productivity (both in the intentional and unintentional sense) to that “property of language which allows a native speaker to produce an infinitely large number of sentences, many (or most) of which have never been produced before”. This is a rather controversial point of view. English is spoken by 350 million people as mother tongue, by 1,5 billion as some kind of official language (official, co-official, one of several official languages, semi-official), and for many others it is the primary medium for 21st century science, technology, diplomacy, commerce, business, influential language of literature and thought. Thus, English-speaking people who live in Britain and speak English have become

a minority in their own language. In the globalised world, the traditional distinction into native speaker and, for example, second language user, no longer makes sense (Swales 1993, Graddol 2007). Kachru (1985) had originally described an English language model with three circles, where the inner circle represented the native speakers, the central ring represented the second-language speakers, and the expanding outermost circle consisted of people learning English as a foreign language. More recently, Kachru (quoted in Graddol 2007: 110) has proposed a new model (Figure 3.5) based on speaker-proficiency, in which the inner circle represents a group of highly proficient speakers – “functional native speakers”.

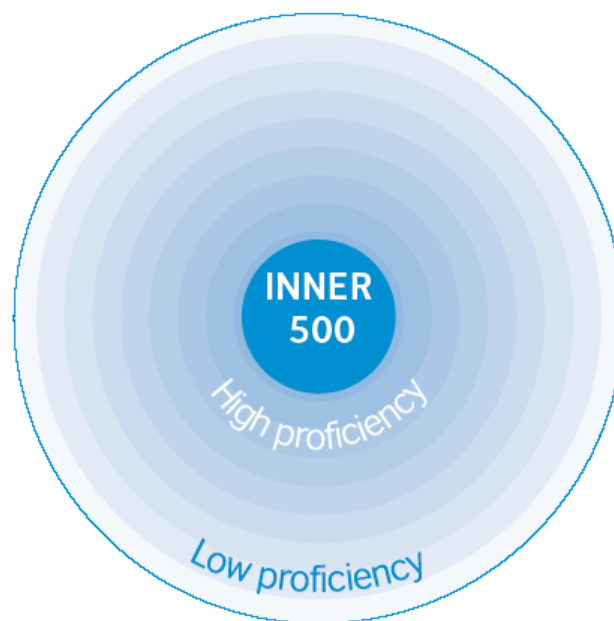


Figure 3.5: English speakers as a wide range of proficiencies (Graddol 2007: 110)

Another problem concerns unintentionality. As stressed by Schultink (1961: 113 translated in Evert and Lüdeling 2001) “We see productivity as a morphological phenomenon as the possibility for language users to coin unintentionally and in principle unlimited number of new formations, by using the morphological procedure”. Unintentionality presupposes automatic, rule- or analogy-based formation. It introduces further subdivision in morphology for things that are unintentional, and so, productive, and intentional, therefore creative. Bauer (1983: 63) points out that creativity “is the native speaker’s ability to extend the language system in a motivated, but unpredictable (non-rule governed) way”. Creativity presupposes originality whereas productivity implies pattern repetition.

Creativity deals with innovation. *Unperson* - coined by G. Orwell, “*unbreak* my heart” and “*uncry* those tears” – in popular songs (performed by Toni Braxton) or the infamous *misunderestimate* by American president George W. Bush should rather be seen as creative innovations, as they are explicitly rule-breaking. President Bush, who used the term *misunderestimate* on several occasions (see www.slate.com), has a reputation for original lexical (and syntactic) creations, generally referred to as “Bushisms”. Metcalf (2002: 117) observes that “President Bush may seem to be especially gifted in coining natural new words, but in fact he is only doing what most of us do. The difference is that he doesn’t censor himself.” Therefore, the traditional division between compounding, derivation and conversion on the one hand as being susceptible to productivity, versus blending, acronyms, and so on, as the domain of creativity, seems misplaced. Creativity should be seen as a quality of the language user, and productivity as a feature of the language itself. A language speaker may use creative formations: language is not creative by itself. However, language patterns can be productive, that is, yield new forms on the basis of existing patterns, their reanalysis, and so on.

The next question deals with the afore-mentioned “morphological procedure”. In the relevant literature we read about process, pattern, affix, or even analogy being productive (yielding new forms). According to Aronoff and Anshen (1998: 242) “Morphological productivity may be informally defined as the extent to which a particular affix is likely to be used in the production of new words in the language”. Plag (1999: 22) argues that “this notion [productivity] boils down to the property of a given word-formation process or affix to be used to derive a new word in a systematic fashion”. If we assume that only affixes are productive, it eliminates all procedures that do not require an affix, such as compounding, conversion, blending, acronyms, which are all very prolific. What shall we do then with a number of combining forms such as *-gate*, *-holic*, *micro-*, *eco-* etc.? If we assume that processes are productive, it boils down to saying that affixation is productive, or that, for example, ablaut is not; we seem to miss the point here.

Another problem I want to highlight here is the status and function of native and non-native elements and patterns. According to Kastovsky (1986), one of the main flaws of the discussions on productivity is the fact that very often loans from French and Latin that do not have a derivative relationship in English (2) are not kept separate from actual English derivatives (3).

- (2) *deceive-deception-deceptive*
- (3) *disintegrate-disintegration-disintegrative*

There is an important morphological difference between these two groups. Direct loans from Latin or French presuppose the actual Latin or French original. Words representing English word-formation pattern do not presuppose the Latin or French original, since the morphological pattern has long ceased to be productive and has been replaced by *-ation*. Van Marle (1985: 59) is even more restrictive, and claims, “All morphological processes that demand their base to be nonnative must be precluded from the productive coining of words.” In this way he excludes a number of perfectly regular formations from the domain of productivity studies.

The final problem deals with the distinction between past and present productivity. Put another way, a process is (still) productive if it still yields new forms. For example, Bauer (1983: 18) stresses this distinction and says “Any process is said to be productive if it can be used synchronically in the production of new forms, and non-productive if it cannot be used synchronically in this way”. In this light the formation of *narrowth* (1) must be seen as unproductive as the process has not been used for new formations since the 16th century. Productivity is something synchronic, as a value that is attached to a word-formation rule, by implication at a certain point in time. Yet, this value may, has, and will, change. Therefore, we can also try to observe those changes over time, and this would then constitute diachronic productivity or productivity in a diachronic context. For Aronoff (1980) diachronic productivity is the number of new types produced by a word-formation rule (WFR) from time T₁ to time T₂. In fact, the different time-periods are compared (sub-corpora or sub-periods). From the diachronic perspective, productivity appears to depend on usage, instead of being an inherent property of word-formation in a specific language (Dalton-Puffer 1996).

Let us again look back at the words in (1), in the light of the criteria just discussed. *CURL*, *productivity*, *bigly* and *Bollywood* were coined by native speakers, *narrowth* and *connectiveness* as potential words might still be coined. *Keyboardology*, although possible, is a direct translation from Polish. If we distinguish between productivity and creativity, we should eliminate from our scope of interest the formations *CURL*, *Bollywood* and *keyboardology*. If we were to limit ourselves to productivity in terms of affixation, *CURL* and *Bollywood*

would have to be omitted in our discussion. Finally, *narrowth* should be eliminated, as it is formed using a dead pattern, and *bigly*, although a regular form in Middle English, has become archaic. Thus, in this view, the only word that can be potentially interesting for productivity studies is *productivity*.

3.6.4 Quantitative approaches to productivity

Another way of looking at productivity is to try to quantify it. Quantitative approaches aim at calculating the probability of finding a new word formed by a given morphological process or affix in a text once a given amount of text is sampled.

One of the simplest measures of productivity is the ratio of actual to possible words, where high ratio denotes high productivity (Aronoff 1976). Baayen and his colleagues (Baayen and Lieber 1991, Baayen 1992, Baayen and Renouf 1996) have developed a number of sophisticated measures using computational analyses of sufficiently large corpora. What size corpora can be considered statistically sufficient is difficult to determine. According to Baayen, there are three main measures that can be used. The first measure is the number of tokens, *N*, which is determined by counting how often words of a given morphological category are used in the corpus. The second is the number of types, *V*, a count of how many different words from a particular category occur in the text. And finally, the number of hapax legomena (hapaxes), words from a particular category that occur only once in a, preferably large, corpus. Hapaxes are an indicator of how often an unattested word is coined on a particular pattern, with a particular affix. These measures enable us to quantify productivity in the narrow sense, global productivity, as well as comparative productivity of two affixes (for discussion and illustration see Baayen and Lieber 1991, Baayen 1992, Baayen and Renouf 1996, Plag 1999, Bauer 2001).

Another statistical method that does not require sophisticated mathematical formulae, but can still yield interesting results, is the rate of addition. It is based on the comparison of the lexicon from two periods of time (see Bolozky 1999, on Modern Hebrew). Aronoff and Anshen (1988a: 245f) used the rate of addition method and data from the *OED* to compare the productivity of *-ness* and *-ity* derivatives over time. They concluded that although there are almost twice as

many words in *-ness* as in *-ity*, the productivity of *-ity* showed a steady increase over time.

The next section will discuss language-internal factors that may be responsible for preventing certain words from being coined.

3.7 Regulating factors

Quirk et al. (1985: 1531f.) distinguish words that are, in some sense, impossible, from words that are merely unlikely. Examples of impossible words are **emptyless* and **fulgrace-dis*, whereas *(*)meep* and *(*)psychophilatelic* illustrate the latter group. The difference between possible, impossible and unlikely words lies in the structural constraints of the latter group. The ease or frequency with which words are formed on particular patterns is partly determined by various types of constraints on productivity. These constraints can be divided into two groups: those of a general nature, and constraints characteristic of a particular rule or process. Some such constraints will be outlined here, following a discussion in the literature. Let us first look at the two views of productivity.

Bauer (1988: 57) points out that “Any process is said to be productive to the extent that it can be used in the production of new forms in the language”. Implicit in this observation is the fact that productivity is a cline, and processes do not simply fall into two categories: productive and unproductive. Rather, they should be seen as more and less productive than other processes. This is the majority view of morphological productivity, and is often referred to as a cline, scalar or gradient view of productivity (see Bauer 2001).

The alternative view, called the absolute view, postulates that processes can be either productive or unproductive, with no stage in between. As suggested before, there are various restrictions on productivity, and their list is as yet far from complete. Therefore, any lack of productivity may in fact be attributable to restrictions that have not yet been formally stated. And, as suggested by Di Sciullo and Williams (1987: 8), “If productivity can be defined with respect to such features, can any affix be less than 100 percent productive? The answer is not obvious.”

Let us now look at some of the constraints.

3.7.1 Structural mechanisms

The factors limiting the application of a rule or an affix can be of a structural or non-structural nature. This section discusses the constraints of a structural nature. For clarity of discussion, these limitations are further subdivided into general mechanisms and rule-specific mechanisms.

3.7.1.1 General mechanisms

General constraints are those types of linguistic limitations that should ideally apply across languages. They are not strict language universals; they should rather be treated as tendencies. Rainer (1993: 98-116) and Plag (1999: 45-60) list several general restrictions such as the word base hypothesis, blocking, stratal constraints, the compositionality hypothesis, the binary branching hypothesis and so on. I will discuss the first two in this section.

Word base hypothesis:

In word base hypothesis “all regular word-formation processes are word-based. A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word” (Aronoff 1976: 21). This position is counter to the morpheme-based approaches to the structure of words, and restricts the application of rules to already existing words. Though this prediction is certainly correct for the majority of processes, it leaves out a rather substantial number of words, for example, neoclassical formations (*homophile*, *bibliophile*). It also necessitates additional rules and explanations for cases where straightforward derivational processes seem not to apply – some cases are *-ist*, and *-ism* (when truncation rules are required). This, in turn, seems to be a statistical generalization, and not a strict universal rule.

Blocking:

The phenomenon of blocking refers to the “nonoccurrence of one form due to the simple existence of another” (Aronoff 1976: 43). That is, when the potential word is prevented from occurring due to the existence of another word which has the same meaning or function (regardless whether simple or complex). Blocking can be restricted only to one of the senses of the new word, that is, the synonyms need not be complete. The most prominent illustration of blocking in the context of inflection is the non-occurrence of the regular forms if the irregular form already

exists. Forms like **sitted*, **writed*, **womans*, **tooths*, are blocked by the existence of *sat*, *wrote*, *women*, *teeth* respectively. Whenever we find an irregular form in inflectional morphology it is sure to block the regular one. Blocking is not uncommon in derivation either. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (4) | <i>steal</i> | <i>stealer</i> (thief) |
| (5) | <i>guide</i> | ? <i>guidal</i> (guidance) |
| (6) | <i>productivity</i> | <i>productiveness</i> |

In (4), *stealer*, with the sense of someone who steals, is blocked in its literal sense by *thief*. It, however, exists in the metaphorical sense, for example, *base stealer* (in baseball), *scene stealer*. The form *guidal* (5) is fully blocked by the existence of *guidance*. On the other hand *productivity* (6) is not synonymy blocked by *productiveness* as they refer to different phenomena.

Another frequently mentioned type of blocking is homonymy blocking. In some cases homonyms can also be preventive factors (7), accounting for the lexical gaps.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|
| (7) | <i>live</i> | <i>liver</i> |
|-----|-------------|--------------|

Liver with the meaning ‘the person who lives’, seems to be successfully blocked by the homonymous *liver* (‘inner organ’). One can, however find counterexamples such as, *a fast liver* in “He then entered the University of Geneva. He became a fast liver... wine, women, and song type of thing.” (<http://www.hftonline.com/forum> 14 July 2001)

3.7.1.2 Rule-specific mechanisms

Some of the process-specific constraints affect only a single rule, and need to be considered on a case-by-case basis. Other constraints may apply to many, or even all, rules in a particular language. They may concern the properties of the base, the derived word, or an affix, and so on. They mainly concern the traditional areas of linguistic research: phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax, and can be further subdivided into positive and negative conditions. Positive conditions refer to the prerequisite conditions necessary before a particular rule may be applied.

Negative conditions indicate factors that, if present, will stop a rule from operating. Let us look at some selected constraints in greater detail.

Phonological constraints (cf. Szymanek 1985: 16ff.) mainly influence suffixation, although prefixation and compounding may be affected as well. Bauer (2001) identifies three types of phonological constraint on productivity. In some cases they are triggered by the segmental make-up of the base, and in some cases the supra-segmental make-up of the base (such as stress placement) can be more important. In other cases it is the number of syllables that can foster or hinder rule application.

An example of the first type is the de-adjectival derivation into verbs by means of the suffix *-en*. The suffix *-en* attaches only to monosyllabic bases that end in an obstruent (8). Evidence of this is the non-existence of verbs such as **abstracten*, **hungren* which have a polysyllabic base or **bluen*, **slowen* **dryen* which lack the final obstruent.

- (8) *whiten, soften, madden, quicken, widen*

To illustrate the supra-segmental make-up of base restriction, Bauer discusses the English *-al* suffixation. This suffix, which forms abstract nouns from verbs, may only attach to verbs that have the main stress falling on the final syllable (9). Therefore, the de-verbal derivative from *develop* – **developal*, or **benefital* from *benefit* is blocked (Marchand 1969: 136-7). *Burial* should not be considered as a counter example as it has a different etymological source (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992).

- (9) *arrival, recital, proposal* from *arrive, recite, propose*

As an example of the third type, where the number of syllables is important, Bauer presents *-ness* suffixation to colour adjectives. The suffix *-ness* attaches to colour adjectives with no more than two syllables (10). Therefore it cannot be used with the base *heliotrope* to form **heliotrop(e)ness*.

- (10) *white – whiteness, red – redness, green – greenness*

This syllable restriction is also illustrated by (9) where de-verbal nouns in *-al* invariably have two-syllable bases.

Productivity can also be constrained by semantic factors. Consider the distribution of *un-* in the examples in (11) and (12):

- (11) *unhappy, unoptimistic, unclean, unloved, unwise*
(12) *unsad, unpessimistic, undirty, unhated, unfoolish*

Katamba (1993: 38) observes that in the case of two adjectives with opposite meanings, one of which has a more positive meaning than the other, normally the negative prefix *un-* attaches to the positive adjective.

One very basic morphological constraint refers to the etymology of the base. In many cases the distinction must be made between native (that is, of Germanic origin) and foreign bases (of French or Latin origin). This rules out certain combinations of affixes, or makes affixation dependent on the presence of a particular feature, or even affix, in the base. The nominalizing suffix *-ity* illustrates the latter point, because it may not be attached to adjectives ending in *-ory* (cf. **satisfactority*). Another affixation process making reference to the non-presence of a particular affix on the base is the German perfect prefix *ge-*, which is not attached to stems that feature verbal prefixes such as *be-*, *er-*, *ver-* and the like (cf. **gebesprochen*, **geerblindet* in Castairs-McCarthy 1993). The suffix *-ant*, forming nouns from verbal bases, attaches only to foreign bases, marked as [+Linate], for example, *assistant*. The suffix *-hood*, on the other hand, attaches to native or nativised bases, marked as [-Linate], such as *sisterhood*.

Finally, I would like to mention syntactic constraints. One very basic syntactic constraint depends on the syntactic category of the base. Many affixes attach only to nouns, verbs or adjectives. The English suffix *-al* (9), for example, attaches always to verbs. Uncompounded participial adjectives ending in *-ing* are based only on intransitive verbs. The suffix *-able*, on the other hand, may attach only to transitive bases, so *enjoyable* is a morphologically valid formation but not **sleepable* or *bouncebackable*.

3.7.2 Non-structural mechanisms

One of the main questions concerning productivity is whether the productivity of a given rule can be determined on the basis of the properties and restrictions of the rule (outlined above). That is, are structural restrictions the only factor influencing productivity, thus making the result predictable? Plag (1999: 37) initially claimed

that “apparent gaps in the derivational patterns can in most cases be explained in terms of the structural properties of the process, so that in many cases reference to language use or ‘norm’ are premature and ill-justified.” Bauer (1992: 190f.) makes a contradictory observation: “even where there are stateable restrictions on productivity of a given process, there may nevertheless be degrees of productivity. Limited productivity is not necessarily the result of strong clear-cut restrictions.” I argue that structural restrictions offer a range of potential forms that a language user might, if needed, elect to use. In this way structural restrictions select potential formations ready to be realized.

Recent studies confirm common intuitions. For example, register variation shows a whole range of observable syntactic and lexical differences between registers or text types. As has been claimed by Cowie (2000), patterns may be more productive in some registers and types of discourse, than others. She finds that sermons and fiction employ more names of qualities in *-ness*, whereas nouns in *-ity* are more likely to be encountered in scientific and medical texts. This is due to the observed fact that *-ity* formations are often more specific in meaning whereas *-ness* is more productive and general (neutral). This would explain why we talk about morphological *productivity* but not *productiveness*, and about Internet *connectivity* instead of *connectiveness*, and so on. Though the case of *-ity*, and *-ness* can be morpho-pragmatically explained, there are many other irregularities that still invite investigation. Therefore, it is justifiable to claim that the structural restrictions mentioned above are an important factor influencing productivity, but not the only one.

Pragmatic and cultural factors can play a crucial role in the realization of words. On the most general level “It seems self evident that a process will be productive if it is useful, providing means for speakers to make words for the kinds of entities, prosperities and situations they often need to mention” (Adams 2001: 148). Bolozky (1999: 192), in his observation of the Modern Hebrew neologisms, concludes that “when a neologism is created, its formation is essentially semantically based.”

Plag et al., in their further work (1999), explore the relation between register variation and derivational morphology through a quantitative investigation. Their study analyses derivational productivity patterns across three types of discourse in the BNC (written language, context-governed spoken language,

everyday conversation) to conclude that across the three registers, a given suffix may display vast differences in productivity. Moreover, suffixes may differ even within a single register, even though they are structurally constrained to a similar extent.

The paucity of detailed studies of the pragmatic aspects of morphological productivity can be partly explained by the type of data available to researchers, up to the late 1980s. They have had at their disposal mainly lexicographical data and initial corpus data, usually too small or based mainly on newspaper language. So far, more effort has been put into studying word-formation patterns and rules, rather than speaker behaviour, as rules are much more amenable to systematic examination and explanation. Therefore, “the challenge for future research is to extend the study of the pragmatics of morphology to a broader range of morphological categories, and to study in greater detail how context and cotext affect the use of complex words” (Plag et al. 1999: 226). It is necessary to conduct studies that take account of various parameters, such as regional and/or gender differences.

The next section presents different types of studies that have been conducted on morphological productivity.

3.8 Overview of empirical research

A variety of techniques have been used in lexical research on neologisms. These studies range from the traditional structuralist morphological analysis, prosodic morphology, and comparative methods to statistical, computational, and experimental studies of productivity. The sources of data can be roughly divided into three groups: lexicographical data, corpus data and experimental data.

3.8.1 Lexicographical data

Lexicographical data has long been the main source of morphological information. “For dictionaries, there is a simple correlation; the more productive a pattern, the more tokens we will find” (Anshen and Aronoff 1988: 643). This sort of data is very useful for comparative studies – to observe the development of the lexicon (Bolzky 1999 for Hebrew), to look for neologisms (Plag 1999 for verbal affixes), or to verify the productivity of a specific process (Bauer 1992 on *-lily* adverbs).

Plag (1999) uses dictionary data to validate the productivity of verb-deriving processes. Bolozky (1999) uses dictionaries from different periods to compare the change and development in productivity for Hebrew patterns.

Using dictionaries as the source of productivity information is controversial, and has caused some criticism. Baayen and Renouf (1996: 69) object to the use of dictionaries in productivity studies and claim the “dictionaries, unfortunately, are not a reliable source for studying morphological productivity.” They support this by pointing out obvious failures of some dictionary-based studies. The main disadvantage lies in commercial and practical reasons for dictionary making (Plag 1999). Dictionaries usually do not aim at the comprehensive documentation of productively formed, transparent words, but rather cover the more frequent idiosyncratic items. Secondly, there are omissions. Even if a lexicographer aims at complete coverage, regular formations might still be overlooked just because they are regular (e.g. *-ly* derivation in English). Productive formations tend to go unnoticed by language users so even the lexicographers fall victim to the unavoidable tendency to include the more salient, idiosyncratic forms and neglect to list the regular derivatives. And finally, dictionaries also contain old complex forms that may distort the analysis, because they represent processes that have ceased to be productive.

The main arguments against this lexicographical source of data are that data are filtered, and not consistent, meaning that not all words that have been found are entered into the dictionary. The selection is based on the criterion of institutionalisation. Dictionaries often avoid listing regular transparent patterns. In comparative studies, such omissions can cause difficulty in distinguishing genuine new formations from earlier omissions. Moreover, no dictionary can ever list all the formations using a given affix from any given period. These criticisms hold for many dictionaries, but not for comprehensive historical dictionaries like the *OED*.

The *OED* aims at complete coverage, and is aimed at providing thorough and complete information on individual words and on the development of the English vocabulary. According to Ayto (1999: n.n.) the *OED* is “the world’s greatest language research programme and the most comprehensive one in operation in the world today.” It gives the first recorded date when a word was used, and the search can be restricted to a given period. It offers pattern search, access to lexicalised words, and etymological information that makes it suitable for

productivity studies. Plag (1999: 99f.) concludes, “the dictionary-based measure is a reliable instrument for distinguishing between productive and unproductive processes.” He acknowledges, however, that its use may remain controversial in determining the degrees of productivity, that is, ranking productive processes.

3.8.2 Corpus data

Corpus based studies are suggested as an alternative (Baayen and Renouf 1996) to overcome the shortcomings of dictionaries. To use the words of Plag et al. (1999: 209) dictionaries “can be fruitfully employed to find long-sought solutions to questions relating to the problem of morphological productivity”. An unprecedented number and range of electronic text corpora are now available to corpus linguists, ranging from small and sampled collections to very large textual databases. These electronic databases are of different types and sizes. For example, the ICE corpus (project in progress) is a collection of one million word language samples for English varieties (sub-corpora). The BNC consists of over 100 million word tokens of British English from the late 20th century. The BNC samples written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of current British English (see also chapter 6).

Corpora can be general or specialized/topical (e.g., teenage language, spoken language, etc.). The selected texts that constitute a particular corpus are often tagged with meta-information on: mode (written, spoken), interaction (dialogue, monologue), circulation (high, medium, low), domain/topical content (leisure, arts, commerce, etc.), medium (book, periodical, etc.), author (age, sex, demographical selection), and so on. In view of the discussed additional restraints on productivity, these tags offer invaluable information that one would not find even in a comprehensive dictionary, for example, information on differences in word-formation patterns across different text-types and styles.

Reliable corpus analysis requires large, neat and varied corpora, especially for patterns which are unlikely to occur in a small corpus. Ideally, every word in the corpus should be tagged for maximal grammatical information (for the large corpora it is usually done with the help of algorithms that analyze and identify words in scanned texts based on contextual clues). The problems with corpora as an information source lie in determining the size that would be sufficiently

representative, the influential criteria, and reliable tools that would enable information extraction. In these electronic databases, the stored data is not filtered in the same way as in the creation of a dictionary. Whole texts are entered at once, and filtering is only on the level of text selection. Here it is not lexicographers but text authors who are “responsible” for omissions, and tendencies. Another disadvantage is the fact that a corpus cannot distinguish between institutionalized and less widely accepted lexemes, as well as nonce formations. However, such corpora meet the need for very large amounts of up-to-date textual data.

3.8.3 Experimental data

The last source of information is tests involving language speakers, mainly production and comprehension tests. These tests deal with psychological issues in language acquisition (Clark et al. 1986, Clark 1993, 1998) and processing, such as mental lexicon; ways in which regular and irregular forms are processed/produced (Pinker 1999); ways in which productive and unproductive patterns are reflected in perception and production; storage mechanisms; and so on. Data elicitation procedures include fill-in-the-gap methods, spontaneous production of particular affix formations, and recategorization. In various production experiments Clark et al. observe that the strategy children seem to follow in language production is to “look for the commonest device that expresses desired meaning and use that in constructing a new word form” (Clark 1986: 11). Based on this, she concludes that productivity is one of the language acquisition principles. Cutler (1980) uses lexical decision tasks to look at acceptability judgements of neologisms. The aim is to establish if the speaker prefers to create/accept nonce-words with word boundary affixes rather than formative boundary affixes. She found that the preferences are “determined by transparency or opaqueness of the derivative with respect to the base word” (Cutler 1980: 48).

Another source of interesting psycholinguistic material are slips of the tongue. Speech errors may include mistaken word-formation (**self-indulgement* for *self-indulgence* or **theoretize* for *theorize*).

Jaeger et al. (1996) used positron emission tomography (PET) in their study. They were interested in the activity of the brain while processing regular and irregular verbs in English, as well as the responses and response time of the

subject. Their results support the claim that regular and irregular forms are generated by different mechanisms. Clahsen (1997), in his comprehension experiment, shows that waveforms for neologisms coined with the unproductive patterns differ from those coined with productive patterns.

Anshen and Aronoff (1988) claim that unproductive rules are characterised by high-frequency words that are stored in the mental lexicon; productive rules are characterised by low-frequency formations that are not stored in the mental lexicon. Therefore after the loss of a specific word-formation rule, a rapid extinction pattern is predicted for productive patterns, whereas for the unproductive patterns many high frequency words may linger on in the language, as they are available in the mental lexicon.

Taking into consideration the above discussion, it seems reasonable to suggest that a combination of procedures might be a more sound methodological approach to assessing lexical productivity. It will be interesting to see whether there are crucial differences between particular patterns found in corpus-, dictionary-, and language experiment-based research. Using these different sources of data, a cumulative or a contrastive analysis can be performed. Cumulative analysis means that we simply add up the data from the two sources so that we end up with a superordinate pool of data, which we then analyse. Contrastive analysis means that we analyse the individual sources of data separately and then contrast the findings, taking into account the different natures of the sources.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed the types of neologisms possible, the various definitions offered in the lexicographic and morphological literature on the topic, as well as attitudes towards new formations and attempts at regulating the lexicon.

We have seen the problems with mainstream approaches to morphological productivity. Although productivity is seen as a universal feature of human language, there seems to be no agreement on what exactly productivity is, and how it can be measured. An ideal theory of productivity should be able to account for the existence or non-existence of complex formations. No such theory exists as yet.

After clarifying the notion of possible versus actual words, I have introduced the concept of the lexicon as a competitor or collaborator of morphology. I have attempted to classify the significant productivity variables. The various criteria responsible for limiting productivity of morphological processes are presented here.

When reviewing the qualitative approaches, I have presented the variables that help to define productivity. Specifically, the following variables: rule, unintentionality, synchrony, native or non-native elements, and the category of language-user, have been discussed. Some quantitative approaches are also summarized here. I have also looked at restrictions on productivity, in particular, structural and non-structural constraints as well as the current research in terms of types of analysis, data and methods used.

The next chapter will look at the Internet and its role in changing patterns of human communication.

4. The Internet age

4.1 Introduction

In order to be able to discuss language change and changing communication patterns, as manifested in blogs, we first have to look at one of the most important external factors contributing to the change, namely Internet technology.

The twentieth century has witnessed an increase in mediated communication. For example, television and the telephone became commonplace, which played an important role in the changes in culture, society and interaction patterns. Over a decade ago December (1994), referring to the changes in communication, thought and relationships triggered by the new medium of the Internet called them “subtle” and “complex.” He also wondered about the types of impact the Internet and the Web might have on our culture, society and communication.

There are subtle, complex changes taking place in human communication, thought, and relationships within online communication and information communities. The Web is part of these changes, enabling new forms of communication, information delivery, and fostering new associations among people. One challenge for our society is to grapple with the questions raised by these changes. How might our culture, society, and communication patterns change as a result of widespread Web use?

(December 1994)

Nowadays it is no longer exclusively a question of the future but, to a large extent, an observation of the past and present as the Web has become a commonplace, ordinary element of our lives, and the changes are more dramatic in nature rather than subtle. These changes affect all spheres of our lives but first and foremost communication. For example, the emergence of email communication “substantially transformed someone’s daily ritual of communication and interaction, along with one’s sense of physical or psychological presence—just as the telephone changed communicative patterns along with notions of proximity and presence a hundred years earlier” (van Dijck 2004).

The previous chapters discussed language specific regulating mechanisms and types of change. Chapter 4 will introduce an important external factor directly

responsible for language change and evolution: technology. Technology, here embodied by the Internet and the Web, affects the change in language in intricate ways. It redefines the speed and amount of communication, the roles of people participating in communication. It also reshuffles the power to communicate and shifts the physical borders. “The key point here is that IT allows for the creation of new public spheres without the constraints of geography, time and political interests, allowing users a chance to connect, to network with other users and to recreate the structure of society by renegotiating rules, roles and meanings” (Mason and Hacker 2003: 51).

This chapter starts with a discussion of the electronic revolution and the impact it has on society. I analyse the pace and the type of changes that the Internet triggers, and its influence on different spheres of life. An overview of the development and history of the medium, its users and the activities they engage in, is outlined.

The main focus is on investigating the impact this new electronic reality has on communication in general, and more specifically, on human communication. After discussing the changing patterns in information dissemination, the nature of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) will be presented. CMC is often presented as a new form of communication in the digital age. The current research in this is summarized. Various approaches and classification problems are also discussed.

4.2 The electronic media, information and society

The *OED Online* defines ‘revolution’ as “An instance of great change or alteration in affairs or in some particular thing.” The unprecedented tempo and the changes in human relations leave no doubt that we are witnessing yet another revolution - the electronic revolution. According to Beard (1997), this electronic revolution manifests itself in “the means by which we shop, pay taxes, bank, operate business, interact with government and each other, entertain ourselves, store, retrieve and publish information, teach and learn.”

Electronic communication, one of the facets of the electronic revolution, may be also perceived as the most recent stage of the information revolution (Jucker 2003). All the stages: invention of writing, the first book, printing with

moveable type, and the electronic media (recorder, telegraph, telephone, television and now the Internet), have directly contributed to improved information storage and dissemination. Arnold and Arnold (1997: 11) observe that “The only way to escape the emerging world of electronic information is to pull the plug, turn off the telephone, and eschew any device that has a computer in it.” It is very difficult, however, to imagine it possible. In recent years, computers have become ubiquitous and we have become very dependent on them.

The aim of this section is to look at the general impact the invention of the Internet has made on information dissemination and storage. I will also discuss recent Internet use and typical online activities.

4.2.1 The Internet

The amount of information on the Internet expands exponentially. Ordinary users cannot help but be overwhelmed and astonished by the information accessible on the Internet. “And chances are, what they’ve found is only the tip of the iceberg” (McGuire et al. 2002: 72).

The Internet, an extensive system of interlinked yet independent computer communication networks, is not only the newest but also the fastest growing electronic medium of communication. It has over 1.2 billion users worldwide. Although ordinary computer users got access to the Internet only slightly over a decade ago, its beginnings can be traced to the early 1970s (see section 4.3.1).

The name World Wide Web (the Web for short) is often used synonymously and interchangeably with the Internet although technically these are two distinct entities. The Internet is a network whereas the Web is a protocol for enhancing communication within this network. Many Internet communication functions (email, newsgroups, file transfer protocols) functioned before the introduction of the Web. Nowadays, however, they are predominantly web-based. Sir Tim Berners-Lee, the creator of the Web, explains the difference as follows:

The Internet ('Net) is a network of networks. Basically it is made from computers and cables. (...)The Web is an abstract (imaginary) space of information. On the Net, you find computers – on the Web, you find document, sounds, videos,.... information. On the Net, the connections are cables between computers; on the Web, connections are hypertext links. The Web exists because of programs which communicate between computers on the Net. The Web could not be without the Net. The Web made the net useful because people are really interested in information (not

to mention knowledge and wisdom!) and don't really want to have know [sic] about computers and cables.

(www.w3.org/People/Berners-Lee/FAQ.html)

The Internet and the World Wide Web are commonly discussed as a new medium of communication for marketing, advertising and sharing information. So what is new? How does it differ from say radio, or a billion-channel TV?

First of all we should distinguish between two types of media: the push and the pull media. “Television is a “push” medium that enables content-providers to push content at passive consumers. The Web, in contrast, is a “pull” medium - nothing comes unless you click on it and request it. It's email, instant messaging and file sharing that dominate people's interactions with the network, all non-passive activities” (Naughton 2002).

Secondly, the Internet redesigns information dissemination. It creates a new information ecosystem, which is built by the users rather than a central authority. Arnold (1989) refers to this global interactive electronic information environment, a network in which a single computer is valueless, as “datasphere”. This global, networked communication system offers potentially limitless access to information and facilitates human interaction. The benefits of accessibility to online network are significant, from more accurate information access to improved communication and human networking and the democracy of information exchange.

The Internet is different from previous electronic communication media. For example, the telephone facilitated interpersonal communication, the radio mass communication but the Internet offers the benefits of both.

4.2.2 Users and access

The number of Internet users surpassed 1.2 billion people worldwide in 2006 (Computer Industry Almanac, February 2007). The top 15 countries in Internet usage are listed in Table 4.1. The general predictions of annual increase in Internet users are in the range of 140 to 145 million for the next five years. At this rate, in 2011 the number of Internet users will surpass 2 billion.

	Country	Internet Users (#M)	Share %
1	U.S.	210.2	17.3
2	China	131.1	10.8
3	Japan	90.9	7.5
4	India	67.6	5.6
5	Germany	50.3	4.1
6	UK	39.7	3.3
7	South Korea	35.0	2.9
8	France	32.0	2.6
9	Italy	31.6	2.6
10	Brazil	29.5	2.4
11	Russia	27.6	2.3
12	Canada	23.3	1.9
13	Indonesia	22.7	1.9
14	Mexico	20.6	1.7
15	Spain	17.8	1.5
Top 15 Total		829.9	68.3
Worldwide Total		1,216	100

Table 4.1: Top15 countries in Internet usage (Computer Industry Almanac, February 2007)

Although Internet use has boomed in the past decade, access is still very unevenly distributed. Figure 4.1 shows Internet penetration by world region (as of September 2007). On average, over 55 % of the inhabitants of developed countries in Europe, North America and Australia were Internet users in 2007 as contrasted with 5 % in African countries.

The international distribution of Internet users is constantly changing. Among the non-users we can distinguish those who still have indirect experience with the Internet either as ex-users, family members of the person who uses the Internet etc. and those who have no access at all. Internet use is also unevenly distributed largely due to a lack of physical access to technology or to the new type of knowledge in many underdeveloped and undeveloped parts of the world as well as in developed countries, so called ‘net-divide’ or ‘digital divide’ (Mason and Hacker 2003).

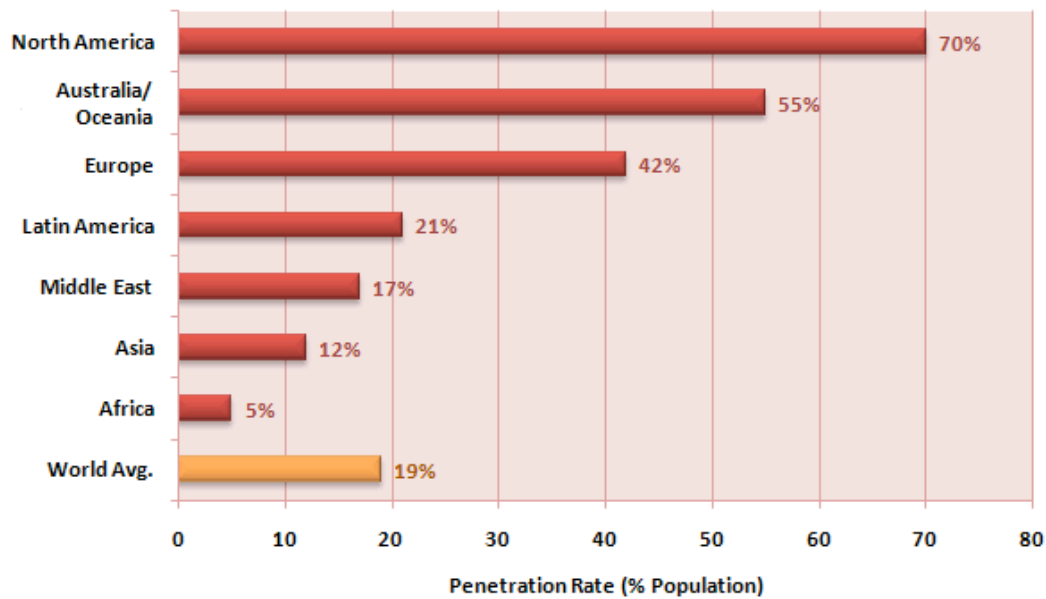


Figure 4.1: Internet Penetration by World Region (Internet World Stats, September 2007)

There is not much general data available on the demographics of Internet users. Information available about “who is online” is often country or social group specific (within one school, company etc.) and the data is highly variable.

4.2.3 Online activities

Already in the early 1990s the potential benefits of the Internet, such as global communication and access to vast information sources, were easy to imagine. Since then, major advances in technologies of access as well as the development of new applications and content have contributed to the maturation of Internet users and the growth of online pursuits. Whereas beginners use the Internet mainly for emailing, more experienced users engage in a variety of activities including content creation for the Internet.

People use the Internet mainly to find information and communicate with others. A study conducted by Bargh et al. (2002) reveals that 94 % of surveyed Internet users see the Internet as a tool to communicate and 87 % use the Internet for that purpose. Pew Internet (June 2007) also lists the kinds of activities Internet users (here represented by adult Americans) engage in while online. Selected activities are presented in Table 4.2 where I have grouped them into three categories: getting information, communication, and transactions. It is interesting

to note that 39% of American Internet users list their activity as reading blogs and 8 % admit to writing one.

Getting Information online	
use search engine to find information	91%
search for a map or driving directions	86%
look for information on a hobby or interest	83%
get news	72%
read someone else's online journal or blog	39%
Online Communication	
send or read email	91%
send instant messages	39%
make a phone call online	8%
create or work on your own online journal or weblog	8%
Online transactions	
buy a product	71%
buy or make a reservation for travel	63%
do banking online	43%

Table 4.2: Online activities (based on Pew Internet, June 2007)

In its influence/impact on human communication, the Internet can hardly be compared to any other invention. Randall (2002: 15) argues that “The Internet combines much of the immediacy of the telephone with all the benefits of being able to write out our thoughts before sending them to the other person. This combination is revolutionary.” So far we have seen only the beginning of this phenomenon, as the rich potential of the Web has not yet been fully realized. How the new medium affects the use and structure of the human language and communication in general, is discussed in the following section.

4.3 Communication in the digital age

What is evident within the study of new information technologies and the new media in general is that, on the one hand, the advances in technology have had a great impact on human society and, on the other hand, they also reflect the changes taking place in society. Nowadays, the Internet is an integral part of the complex changes taking part in human society, affecting the ways we do business, entertain ourselves, and socialize.

The Internet is also “at the very centre of how we communicate” (Randall 2002: 12). It enables new forms of communication, information delivery and

motivates new associations among people. Crystal (2001b: 93) summarizes it as follows:

A linguist can't help but be impressed by the Internet. It is an extraordinarily diverse medium, holding a mirror up to many sides of our linguistic nature. The World Wide Web, in particular, offers a home to virtually all the styles which have so far developed in the written language - newspapers, scientific reports, bulletins, novels, poems, prayers - you name it, you'll find a page on it. Indeed, it is introducing us to styles of written expression which none of us have ever seen before. It has often been said, the Internet is a revolution - yes, indeed, but it is also a linguistic revolution.

There are different types of language used on the Internet (Ferris 1997). By the language of the Internet I mean the natural language as used across the Internet (e.g. for chat, email, instant messaging, or webpage content) not a special coding system (programming language).

Computer-mediated communication is a form of communication that makes it possible for individuals or groups of individuals to share / exchange information with the help of computer networks (mainly the Internet). This includes both synchronous and asynchronous flow of information. Barnes defines it as "a wide range of technologies that facilitate both human communication and the interactive sharing of information through computer networks" (Barnes 2003: 4). This could be roughly summarized as the natural language messages exchanged via the Internet.

Baron (2003: 74) additionally includes, within the scope of CMC, other natural language messages sent over computer networks (but not necessarily Internet) such as email and computer conferencing (e.g. using corporate intranet) and Short Message Service (SMS). While the inclusion of the Intranet seems unproblematic, SMS as part of CMC appears to be a bit far-fetched. It is important to point out that when SMS first appeared, there were no tools integrating mobile phone communication with computer networked communication. The situation has dramatically changed in recent years. Currently there are plenty of publicly available tools that let us send email messages, update web-pages, or even post entries and photographs on online diaries from our mobile phones.

4.3.1 History and background of CMC

Since 1990 when access to the Web became publicly available, new types of CMC seem to appear almost every year. Table 4.3 highlights the correlation between CMC and Internet timelines, starting with the earliest experiments in transmitting natural language messages via computer networks, in the early 1970s, up to the late 90s when the Web fully established itself and the use of the Internet exploded.

YEAR	CMC TYPE AND USE	SELECTED NETWORK DEVELOPMENT STAGES
1968		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - first hypertext system <i>NLS</i> Douglas Engelbart's - ARPANET (US Department of Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency Network)
1971-1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ray Tomlinson of BBN creates the first email program to send messages between computers. The original program was derived from two others: an intra-machine email program (SENDMSG) and an experimental file transfer program (CPYNET) 	
1973		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - TELENET – commercial packer-switching services
c. 1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mailing list 	
1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale use e-mail every day during their campaign to coordinate itineraries. A Single message costs \$4. - Queen Elizabeth II of England becomes the first head of state to send an e-mail message. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The first bulletin board system (BBS) (type of usenet/newsgroup) called the Computerized Bulletin Board System (CBBS) - USENET (UNIX users network)
1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multi User Dungeons (MUDs), created by Richard Bartle and Roy Trubshaw at the University of Essex 	
1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Newsgroups 	
1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emoticons / smileys Scott E Fahlman proposes the ubiquitous Smiley☺ to indicate humour in message board posts. 	
1983		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internet
1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internet Relay Chat (IRC) written by Jarkko Oikarinen at the University of Oulu, Finland. 	
1990		

	- Webpages The first World-Wide Web (www) software is created by Tim Berners-Lee.	- First search engines Archie search engine from McGill University - WWW
1990		
	MOOs (MUD object oriented)	
1992		
	SMS (Short Message System) - The term “netizen” is coined in an article by Michael Hauben. January The term 'Surfing the Net' is coined by Jean Armour Polly.	
1993		
		NCSA Mosaic is released for Macintosh and Windows.
1994		
		Netscape – first commercial web browser (version of mosaic)
1996		
	ICQ	
1997		
	America online Instant Messenger	
1997/6		
	Weblogs	

Table 4.3: Internet Timeline (based on Baron 2003: 72f., Zakon 2006, Living Internet, August 2006)

Two crucial stages in the development of the Internet are the World Wide Web and broadband technology. The invention of the World Wide Web and the development of broadband technology have significantly contributed to bringing the Internet access to ordinary homes. Figure 4.2 illustrates the growth of the Web based on the number of sites since its founding in 1991 (Nielsen 2006).

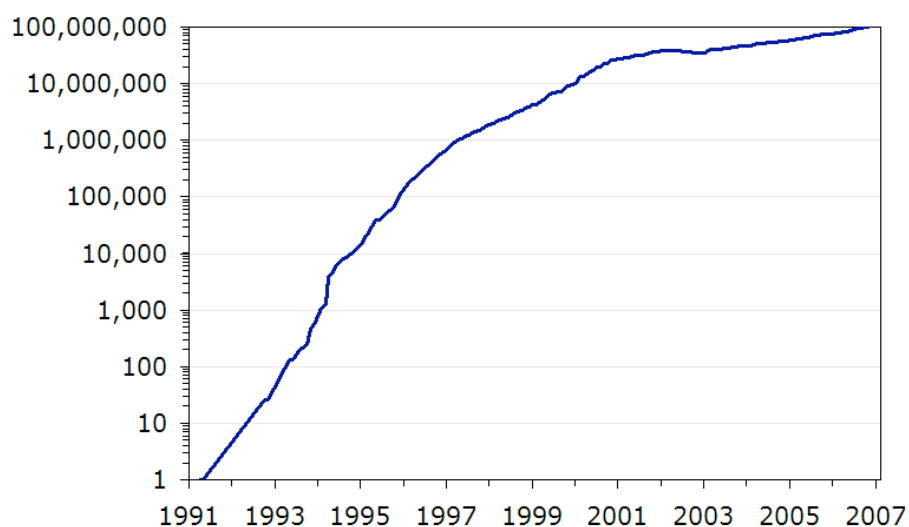


Figure 4.2: Web's growth (Nielsen 2006)

Based on the statistical information and the pace of growth, Nielsen (2006) distinguishes three stages in the rise of the Web:

1991-1997: Explosive growth, at a rate of 850% per year.

1998-2001: Rapid growth, at a rate of 150% per year.

2002-2006: Maturing growth, at a rate of 25% per year.

At this pace the Web is predicted to reach 200 million sites by 2010. It is already on the way to becoming a mainstream medium, with almost ubiquitous presence in everyday life. Henriquez (2000: 4) observes that as a method of communication the Web “is unusual in several ways – in its delivery (...) speed, audience, multimedia aspects, interactivity, connections to databases”. December (1994) supplements the list by observing that “the Web transcends time and space constraints, alters power and control, makes possible new expressive styles, and creates new relationships among people and information.”

4.3.2 Impact on old media

The Internet has profoundly affected the traditional media (e.g. traditional print and broadcast sources) forcing these media to go online. Several hundred newspapers now publish online versions. It is also possible to subscribe to online newsfeeds from services such as AP and Reuters. The technological influence can go beyond the introduction of the online medium equivalent. The new medium has had a more profound effect on the traditional print media, for example, forcing the redesign of a paper or in some places even forcing it out of business. For example, in March 2007 Time Inc. announced that the last paper issue of *Life* magazine, its photography supplement published since 1936, would appear on April 20, 2007. From then on it would be available only in the electronic version. Radio has been available on the Internet since 1993. The first-ever Internet video broadcast of a rock concert featured the Rolling Stones in November 1994. In just a few years, audio and video on the Internet have become commonplace.

Traditional media increasingly adopt a multimedia format by merging traditional and new media and redefining traditionally mass communication as utilized by TV broadcasting. For example, the weekly BBC World programme “Have Your Say” aired on Sundays, is a phone-in programme, which is broadcast alongside BBC World Service Radio and BBC Online, where the

viewers/listeners/readers can phone-in and share their views on topical issues of the day with a global audience. Simultaneously, viewers may also contact the show by email or SMS.

The Internet is often called an "information highway". Increasingly, publications on the Internet are developing multimedia formats that integrate text, sound, graphics, and animation. The Internet triggers the emergence of new forms of interpersonal communication and network formation. It offers unlimited space for sharing, exchanging and storing messages and files.

4.3.3 Impact on the old genres

The Internet is a new medium that enables the creation of new, and the modification of existing, genres. Genre can be defined in a variety of ways (Miller 1984, Swales 1990). Traditionally the communicative genre is defined as a combination of "structure", "style" and "content" elements. Recent genre studies (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1997) include the addition of "purpose". Swales (1990: 58) argues that

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style.

Purpose is not always a clear-cut criterion (Askehave and Swales 2001). Crowston and Williams (2000: 202) define genre "as an accepted type of communication sharing common form, content or purpose, such as an inquiry, letter, memo or meeting." This is the definition I will use throughout this book. We can say that genre is a kind of code shared between conversation participants. Genre is not the same as the medium/channel/mode of communication. Crowston and Williams (2000) illustrate the difference with an example of a memo genre: "A memo genre may be realized on paper or in an electronic mail message (two different media), while the electronic mail medium may be used to deliver memos and inquiries (two different genres). However, medium does influence which genres are accepted."

Since genres are rooted in social practices they undergo a natural life cycle of change, evolution and decay (Miller 1984). In the previous section, I compared

the Internet revolution to the information and literacy revolutions triggered by the invention of print. There are more parallels here if we think of the impact both events have had on various genres. Printing fostered the continuation and development of existing genres, such as poetry, and enabled the emergence of new genres. On the Internet we can find many genres that also exist as printed texts, articles, speeches, and poetry to name just a few, but we also find alterations and modifications of existing genres, for example hyperfiction, email, multimodal information in a single text.

To illustrate it better, consider online news. It differs from print and broadcast news in the way information is organized (self-supporting hypertext layers); it also overcomes the constraints of space and time typical for print and broadcast (see Lewis 2003). Werry (1996: 58) sees the language used on Internet Relay Chat (IRC), one of the first media of social CMC, as a hybrid and a result of a “play with language” where “[p]articipants produce a bricolage of discursive fragments drawn from songs, TV characters, and a variety of different social speech types.” Collot and Belmore (1996) identified the language used on bulletin board postings to resemble public interviews and personal, as well as professional, letters. New tools have also made it possible to develop new genres such as Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ), the personal homepage, weblog or webcast.

These three patterns are reflected in the classification of genres, suggested by Crowston and Williams (2000), into reproduced/replicated, adapted/variant and novel/spontaneous. The first category simply uses the new medium/channel with structure, style and content factors intact. Adapted genres benefit from the functionality of the web. Finally, novel/spontaneous genres are web specific creations with no established antecedent.

Communication via computers started as a specialized communications network used mostly for military and academic purposes and developed into “a massive electronic bazaar” (McGuire et al. 2002). What should be evident from this section is that CMC can no longer (or just not) be considered as a single genre.

4.4 Natural language on the Internet

The use of natural language in computer networks and the explosion of various CMC technologies has triggered critical discussion among linguists and social

scientists especially in the domains of language change and the impact on literacy. One of the frequently addressed questions is whether the way people communicate and the language they use are affected by the new medium. For example, Kress (1998), in his discussion of email language, asserts that it would be erroneous to attribute changes in communication to technological innovation. Herring, half a decade later, argues that in the 21st century the question is no longer “if” but “under what circumstances, in what ways, and to what extent” (Herring 2004: 27). McKay (2006) observes that the new communication practices originating on the Internet now also affect offline communication. “The so-called ‘netspeak’ or ‘netlingo’ has spread beyond CMC, with similar shortcuts and symbols adopted by mobile telephone users for text messaging, and CMC jargon like ‘flaming’ and ‘spamming’ becoming more widely used and understood” (McKay 2006: 600).

The general perception of human language use on the Internet is highly stigmatised and the users are often referred to with the pejorative terms “geek” and “nerd”. Different language areas, from orthography (CMC is still a predominantly written medium) to discourse strategies, have undergone noticeable changes triggering a number of misconceptions regarding the language used in various CMC types. The language is generally perceived as fractured, less correct, less elegant, less complex and less coherent than standard written language, and that in fact, we are witnessing the degradation of language through CMC.

Herring (2001a) argues that what would be seen as an error in standard (in the sense non-CMC) written communication is in fact often less the result of inattention or lack of knowledge and more a deliberate choice made by the user: to save on typing effort, to mimic spoken languages features, to express themselves creatively and adapt the computer medium to the expressive needs, and to mark in-group status. The most frequent distinctive features include the use of abbreviations and acronyms, punctuation marks and emoticons (translating human and mood expressions into graphic symbols) to emulate prosodic features, deletion of subject pronouns and special lexis (Herring 1996: 3).

4.4.1 Previous studies

Although language use on the Internet has been a popular research and discussion topic among linguists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, language

researchers, and advertisers, to name a few, the rapid development of technological innovations makes it difficult to keep pace with. In recent years, many studies have been conducted with the aim of classifying and describing the natural language used on the Internet. These studies can be roughly divided into three main approaches: generalization, analogy, and innovation. In the generalization approach, scholars have been trying to provide a comprehensive overview of CMC as such or a selected mode and/or genre. In the analogy approach, they try to adapt existing scholarship and analyse the new phenomena against established frameworks (see mode studies below). In the innovation approach, usually (though not necessarily) combined with corpus based research, they analyse the individual genres and variables.

The linguistic patterns found on the Internet often diverge from established norms. In fact, as observed by Baron (2003: 63), “Natural language usage on the Internet is anything but conventional or constrained. No grammar teacher or subject classifier vets the billions of emails, instant messages, chat contributions, or web pages that shuttle across the Internet daily.” The concept of “new” is, however, complex as illustrated by Moran and Hawisher (1998: 80) who, researching emails, say “when we argue that e-mail is a new medium, developing its own rhetorics and languages, we mean that although new, it is intimately related to its ancestors.”

Initial research focused on the mode of communication. Another angle of discussion was an attempt to offer a general overview of the linguistic aspects of the use of language on the Internet and the impact it has on language in general (for a range of studies see Herring 1996, Runkehl et al. 1998, Crystal 2001a, Baron 2003, Aitchison and Lewis 2003). With the rapid development of the web and, as a consequence, the emergence of new communicative genres in recent years, many researchers have recognized the need to investigate the styles and genres separately.

The rich communicative context CMC offers calls for research in genre-specific settings, reflecting the fact that different CMC types display unique and often mutually exclusive properties (see, for example, Graddol and Goodman 1996, Herring 1996). As a result, core CMC research has shifted the focus from general description to discussion of individual genres or modes acknowledging the fact that the language of CMC is diverse, highly dynamic and far from being

homogenous. Consequently, the concept of one CMC language, which Crystal (2001a) termed “netspeak” has been abandoned and labelled as erroneous, and the discussion is now concentrated on specific CMC languages, for example, the language of emails, webpages, Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) or Internet Relay Chat (IRC), rather than CMC language in general.

Nowadays, there are numerous studies devoted to the individual genres and modes. For example, personal homepages on the Web have been studied by Bates and Lu (1997), Dominick (1999), Dillon and Gushrowski (2000), Walker (2000), Döring (2002), and Papacharissi (2002a and 2002b), to name just a few. Other topics include email (Moran and Hawisher 1998, Baron 1998, Dürscheid 2005), webpages (Döring 2002), computer conferencing (Yates 1996), blogs (see chapter 5), banners (Janoschka 2004) or event trackers (Jucker 2006).

Other research has focused on individual variables and features. Jesuino (2002) explores the social-psychological factors; Nowson and Oberlander (2006) focus on personality and identity creation; Harrison (2000) on politeness; Rodino (1997), Herring (2001b), Herring and Paolillo (2006) on gender; and Paolillo (1999) on social networks as correlated with language variation.

I consider Crystal (2001a) to be one of the most important studies on the language of the Internet. Regardless whether we see this study as successful or not it is a genuine, though impressionistic, attempt to discuss the new phenomenon, digital communication, in a systematic way. Additionally, it has attracted an avalanche of criticism (especially among German scholars e.g., Schlobinski 2001, Dürscheid 2004) and has motivated a lot of active research and publications in the field.

4.5 Dimensions of CMC

A decade ago, in a talk delivered at the Middlebury University, Beard (1997) predicted that “many of the traditional means of communications: regular mail, the telephone, television, radio, and much hard-copy publishing will ultimately be replaced by the Internet communications.” Time has proved him right. Nowadays in the developed world, communicating via networked computers seems something ordinary, omnipresent and just a natural part of our lives. People exchange their email addresses, mobile phone numbers and Skype names (Skype is

a communication platform, similar to Instant Messaging) rather than traditional postal addresses. A lot of the paperwork at institutions and offices is done electronically. We get e-bills, make e-payments, and buy e-tickets. The Internet offers almost unlimited possibilities of extending the options of traditional communication.

As we have seen in the previous section the research on various aspects of digital communication is plentiful. I have already established that CMC is an umbrella term that covers the whole spectrum of genres, styles, vehicles, modes of communication, as diverse as an online sports commentary, WIKI, MUD (Multi-User Dungeon) and a public poll. In order to better understand the hybrid (medium-specific) and innovative nature of CMC and as a preparation for the weblog discussion in the following chapter, selected important variables and aspects shaping communication on the Internet will be discussed in this section. The discussion will be illustrated with examples from different genres.

Before getting into this discussion, we should distinguish between different concepts frequently used synonymously in the CMC research. So far terminology, following different authors and their frameworks, has been used in a non-systematic way and needs consistent classification and definition. From now on, the term “medium” will be used to refer to TV, radio, computer, the Internet and the Web. “Mode” can be understood in two ways – the narrow sense refers to the medial qualities of mode – that is speech and writing, and to the broad sense, which includes linguistic, social and contextual elements as well (conceptual literacy and orality as discussed above). The narrow sense will be referred to as “channel”, and the broader sense will retain the name “mode”. “Vehicle” refers to the physical or virtual carrier of information, for example, email, or webpage. And finally “genre” is, to quote Crowston and Williams (2000) again, “an accepted type of communication sharing common form, content or purpose, such as an inquiry, letter, memo or meeting.”

4.5.1 Mode and medial qualities of the channel

In a strictly medial way, that is, considering the channel alone, the distinction between orality and literacy is exclusive. That means, it is a dichotomic relation and each communicative event is either spoken or written with no in-betweens

possible. In this sense CMC is predominantly written. The linguistic discussion of orality and literacy, however, is much more complex. It includes two aspects: medial and a conceptual. The conceptual aspect can cover such factors as situational differences and linguistic variables.

In their register study, Biber et al. (1999) enumerate several situational differences among registers. In general terms, the spoken mode is characterised by interactivity, shared immediate situation and a focus on personal communication and individual audience whereas the written mode addresses a wide or specialist public, focuses on information sharing, shares no immediate situation with the audience and displays very restricted (if any) interactivity.

Crystal (1997) provides a taxonomy for spoken and written modes based on both situational and linguistic variables. He observes that spoken language is time bound, dynamic and transient face-to-face conversation that is socially interactive. It is spontaneous and therefore loosely structured, immediately revisable and prosodically rich. Written language, on the other hand, is space bound, static and permanent. It is visually decontextualized factual communication. It is contrived, elaborately structured, revisable and graphically rich.

There are, however, problems with the dichotomous approach outlined above. Even in the CMC-free discourse environment, there are many cases when the discourse situations are difficult to classify as the speaking and writing (as linguistically classified above) are often difficult to disentangle.

Consider, for example, teleprompting in a chat show and written students' chat in a lecture room. In the first case, imagine a chat show host and guest who are reading the text projected on a teleprompter while facing the camera (a very common situation in many chat shows). They might create a perfect illusion of spontaneous speech to the viewer. Spoken language is here undoubtedly the channel of this speech event but is it an oral mode since the text is carefully preplanned and written down to be spoken?

In the second situation, imagine two students sitting next to each other in a lecture theatre. They are exchanging messages, chatting, by writing to each other and passing a piece of paper as a signal of turn taking. Here writing is the channel but the speech event is also characterised by many of the oral mode features such as spontaneity, dynamism, extralinguistic cues etc. Crystal (1997) acknowledges

these problems and suggests thus a third category of “mixed medium” which should cover all alternatives.

Koch and Oesterreicher (1994) have proposed a continuum approach to discourse taxonomy. Instead of classifying various genres and registers according to the traditional mode distinction they suggest a multidimensional model that identifies all relevant features of a discourse event based on proximity and distance. In this way they can classify each discourse event along the continuum defined by the poles of “language of proximity” and “language of distance” (see also Koch 1999). In their approach, the role of the mode (speech, writing) is reduced, though it remains binary, and the notions of conceptual literacy and conceptual orality are introduced. Among the variables that determine the degree of communication as conceptually spoken or conceptually written for a given discourse event, Koch and Oesterreicher (*ibid.*) include degree of familiarity of the communication participants, degree of emotional involvement, integration of situation and activity, relation of reference to time and place, communicative cooperation, degree of dialogic/monologic traits, spontaneity, subjectiveness as well as subject fixation. Their model overcomes the shortcomings of the traditional oral/written dichotomy approach.

Raible (2002) discusses the orality and literacy continuum within a three level approach to language: language as speech act types (e.g. joke), language as utterance (dialogue with a neighbour), and language as system. He concludes that “it is impossible to encounter, on the conceptual level, the same clear-cut distinction we find in medial realization. Conceptually speaking, orality and literacy are thoroughly intertwined” (*ibid.*: 8968).

The perception of CMC language largely depends on the adapted framework, that is, a dichotomy between spoken and written language or the lack of absolute distinction between the two.

Crystal (2001a) classified the four main categories of CMC: web, email, chatgroups, and virtual worlds, according to the differences in boundedness and dynamicity, synchronicity, paralinguistic cues, constructions, communicative functions, ability to be revised and unique communicative features. None of the CMC types he analysed neatly fitted the established patterns, which forced him to conclude that “Netspeak is identical to neither speech nor writing, but selectively and adaptively displays properties of both” and is “more than an aggregate of

spoken and written features. (...) and must accordingly be seen as a new species of communication” (Crystal 2001a: 47f.).

Ultimately, most scholars concluded that CMC blends elements of both written and oral modes and incorporates “new nonverbal communication codes beyond the traditional visual and aural elements of nonverbal interaction” (Soukup 2000: 418). Raible (2002: 8962) argues that “While mediality is trivial, the conceptual aspect is best conceived of as a continuum, thus blurring any clearcut distinction between orality and scripturality. The scale corresponds to a series of ever more complex and demanding textual genres.” Looking at CMC, its genres and media, as a cline from a written language to a spoken language rather than as a separate uniform type, seems more appealing.

4.5.2 Communication direction and type

As a mixture and variation of all channels, genres, vehicles and modes, CMC does not neatly fit into the established communication models (e.g. The Shannon-Weaver Linear communication Model, Schramm’s Interactive Model, or Ruesch and Bateson Functional Model).

Traditionally, we can identify three basic variables in communication classification: number of participants, (potential) message direction and presence of medium. The term “medium” refers here to the technology used by humans to communicate messages using natural language, for example, print, telephone, radio, television and the Internet (Herring 2003). These three elements interact in various ways. They have been most often configured as follows to form the classification of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and mass communication. Intrapersonal communication requires only one participant and is not mediated. Interpersonal communication reflects a face-to-face conversation with two participants who equally contribute to the conversation. And mass communication is a unidirectional communication where the same content goes to all recipients but only the sender has the control over the content.

The three-variable distinction becomes blurred when we consider CMC. First of all CMC communication is always mediated so that is no longer a distinguishing criterion. In terms of participant numbers and communication direction the notions of interpersonal and mass communication need redefining as

there can be anywhere from one to an indefinite number of participants (depending on the form) and it can be uni- or multi-directional. In fact, communication on the Internet seems to combine two mutually exclusive forms of communication benefiting from their advantages while avoiding their disadvantages – individualized messages can simultaneously be delivered to an infinite number of people who can share reciprocal control over the content.

Van Dijk (1999), in his discussion of networked societies argues for new forms of communication, “mediated interactive communication”, that arose between interpersonal and mass communication media. Janoschka (2004) in her study of banner advertisements proposes a similar model of communication (Figure 4.3) that incorporates these different forms, that is, mass and interpersonal communication in online communication that is via one medium. In her interactive mass communication (IMC) model, processes of mass communication (the grey elements) and interpersonal communication (white elements) interact. The traditionally unidirectional transfer of the online message (OM, marked by black arrows) is carried on through the mass medium. At the same time, the traditionally bi-directional flow of the interpersonal online message is also realized through the mass medium.

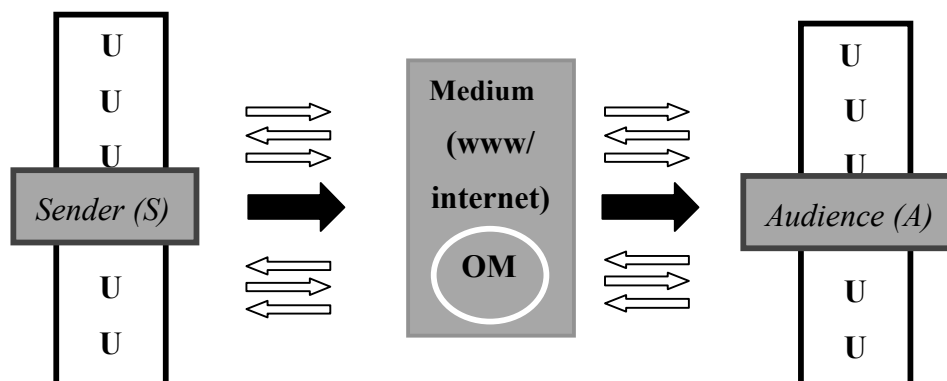


Figure 4.3: Interactive mass communication (Janoschka 2004: 98)

CMC enables and promotes all possible constellations of communication. From intrapersonal notes, reminders and even diaries, through one-to-one communication exemplified by email, chat-type systems, large and small group communication such as Web based conferencing, Instant Messaging, MUDs, chat,

to mass communication: Internet radio, WIKIs, blogs, peer-to-peer file-sharing. At the same time, one medium (in the Crowston and Williams 2000 sense discussed above), for example, email, can function as different genres and use different communication types. An email as intrapersonal communication can be sent to oneself as a memo reminder. It can be part of interpersonal, reciprocal communication exchange between two participants (for example, friends). It can also be part of small group communication and when used as spam, an example of mass media unidirectional communication.

4.5.3 Participants

Internet participants can be senders, receivers or both simultaneously. That is, they can be actively creating the Internet content (e.g. webpages, writing emails etc.) or be on the receiving end, the targets of the communication (reading newspapers, browsing the web) or both. Additionally, among receivers we should distinguish active and passive communication participants. Traditionally the role of the receiver is passive until he generates any kind of feedback and/or triggers interaction. On the web, for example, as a recipient of spam email I am a passive receiver and apart from introducing better spam filters and blacklisting the sender I cannot have much influence on the communication. However, while looking for information, and deliberately browsing the web, searching for a particular topic, I actively become a participant in mass communication. Of course, the proportion of active content creation to passive reception is highly unbalanced. “On the Internet, as with traditional speaking and writing, the language that individuals produce is far exceeded by the language they receive” (Crystal 2001a: 18).

Moran and Hawisher (1998: 80) see CMC as “a place where gender roles can be redefined and hierarchies flattened, and where voices previously marginalised can be made heard.” There are no social restrictions as to who can play which role. The only restriction is the technology (access and sufficient computer knowledge). As such, communication on the Internet is available to everybody, and it has a strong democratising potential.

For example, in IRC flattened hierarchies and democracy are fostered through the typed nature of the interaction, which “guarantees that everyone will

be heard. There is no competition for the floor—everyone who types, hits enter, and is not the victim of a netsplit, will eventually be ‘heard’ ” (Bechar-Israeli 1995).

Another important factor that helps to redefine communication participation is the lack of social clues provided by the medium. Anonymity is inherent in CMC. In a traditional interpersonal setting using visual and auditory cues we can estimate the speaker’s age, sex, social position etc. Similarly, in a mass media setting we usually know who the message sender is. On the web, however, no such information (unless disclosed) is available (Bargh et al. 2002). Participants are presented with the opportunity to create a new identity and/or hide behind a nickname (Baym 1995, Bechar-Israeli 1995). At the same time, the lack of visual clues and the apparent safety that the medium offers enable people to interact in a less restricted way. Baron (2000: 233) summarizes this paradox as follows: “The less we disclose of our physical being to our interlocutor, the more likely we are to speak our minds.”

The Web redefines power and communication control and the roles of the speaker(sender)/reader(receiver). It takes the control from institutional publishing and gives it to an individual or an online group. The dissemination of ideas, whether on a mass or a medium scale, is no longer censored and filtered by institutions and organizations. “The power of the press lies with those who own a press. On the Web, everyone with the necessary skills owns a press” (December 1994). It offers unprecedented and almost unrestricted self-presentation and expressive possibilities. It gives a voice that the whole world can hear.

4.5.4 Time and space

Electronic communication is generally characterised by near instantaneous delivery of information. In reality this is a computer cliché. For example, the delivery time of a file message can vary from a fraction of a second to infinity. Among the technical factors affecting the message speed, McMurdo (1995) enumerates the size of the document, competing traffic on the networks, the state of the intermediate machines involved in forwarding and the destination computer.

Apart from the technical factors, time dimension in CMC has to be considered from the perspective of the participants as well. If we look at the communication from the sender’s point of view the delivery is immediate,

instantaneous, in real time and requires only the pressing of the send button or upload function. From the receivers point of view the message flow can be synchronous or asynchronous. Asynchronous communication takes place between two or more people at different times. In asynchronous communication the messages (e.g. email, listserver discussion list) are stored until they are read. Synchronous communication, on the other hand, takes place simultaneously or in near real time (a few seconds delay due to technical transfer delays) that is, the participants must be logged on at the same time. With space being no obstacle both types can involve many participants and exhibit all possible communication configurations. The Web, chat, voice Skype, and MUDs are examples of synchronous reception whereas email, discussion groups and online news can illustrate asynchronous communication. Asynchronous communication has a number of advantages. It does not require co-presence of the participants in order to exchange a message. Communication can be based on interest rather than geography, and is freer, as people are not slowed down by geographical or temporal limits. Sometimes this division is not so obvious. An email may be read immediately upon arrival or may never be read at all. Similarly, chat participants using their computers and networks at the same time might not receive the sent messages due to a network failure or system overload.

Space can be understood geographically as physical distance and conceptually as physical space in the virtual world (size, memory) available in a particular communication exchange. CMC creates new opportunities for communication among geographically dispersed individuals enabling them to synchronously or asynchronously exchange digital messages (text, pictures and, recently, voice).

4.5.5 Interactivity

One of the defining characteristics of CMC is its interactivity. Crystal (2001a: 18) observes that “Internet is a medium almost entirely dependent on reactions to written messages, awareness of audience must hold a primary place in any discussion. The core feature of the Internet is its real or potential interactivity.”

Interactivity enables information flow in multiple directions. Depending on the type of communication utilized we can have human-medium or human-human

interactivity (as explained previously, medium-medium interaction is beyond the scope of this research). A typical example of human-medium interactivity is buying a plane ticket online (for example, selecting time, destination, confirming details etc.). On the Web, human-medium interaction is largely possible thanks to the hypertext-links that allow multiple ways of accessing information (Henriquez 2000). Interaction with other Internet users is possible using platforms such as newsgroups, the channels of real time conversation (IRC, chat), millions of net communicators (messengers), web pages (www) or hundreds of thousands of blogs (see chapter 5). Barnes (2003: 21) sees it as a “two-way correspondence between people in which senders and receivers can exchange positions and develop ongoing relationships”

Van Dijk (1999) and van Dijk and de Vos (2001) distinguish between four levels of interactivity: space (multiway), time (synchronicity), control of interaction and content understanding (Table 4.4). These levels are cumulative, that is a higher level is not possible without the lower levels. They account for the quality of interactivity and can be applied to both human and machine interactivity.

Level of interactivity	Space	Time	Control	Content
1	X			
2	X	X		
3	X	X	X	
4	X	X	X	X

Table 4.4: Levels of Interactivity (Van Dijk 1999:11)

Human-human interaction, as presented above, is a part of interpersonal two-way communication. Human-medium interactivity stands for the shift in the role of the reader from passive to active. To account for the different nature of interactivity, Jucker (2003), in his study of mass media communication, suggests a systematic terminological distinction between “interaction” and “interactivity”. He restricts the term interactivity to human–medium situations whereas interaction is used for human-human contexts. Additionally he introduces the term “feedback” as “the opinion of the silent majority”. That is, feedback is the surreptitiously collected information about the passive participants with the help of technological tools such as click rates, servers used, time spent on a particular page, method used to access the destination, and so on.

4.5.6 Tools

Contrary to initial reservations that the web is only for the computer savvy, i.e. those with a fairly specialized set of skills who can handle File Transfer Protocol (FTP) commands or the details of the Hyper-Text Markup Language (HTML) page design, most of the current software enables the virtually computer illiterate person to use various tools in the Internet. Most of the communication on the Internet would not be possible had it not been for user-friendly, easily available, free tools. No programming skills are necessary to send and receive emails, join chat rooms or participate in discussion forums. And even the simplest tools are thoroughly explained and interactive manuals are available online for everybody to access. Google, for example, offers a getting started with Gmail guide for its email tool. It contains an animated tutorial, FAQs, Gmail help, and glossary.

4.5.7 Internet writing strategies

Much of face-to-face communication relies on visual and prosodic cues. Although orality in computer-mediated communication is constrained by the writing system, users have developed alternative ways to convey orality/prosody online (Fouser et al. 2000). Among the prominently characteristic features of CMC, Murray (1990) and Ross (2006) enumerate emoticons, spelling shortcuts, deletion of subject pronouns, determiners, auxiliaries, use of abbreviations, no correction of typos, no use of mixed case, and use of shorter words.

Herring (2001a) explains the unconventional orthography, for example, multiplication of letters as in “waaaaaaay too much”, or explicit identification of actions as in “*grin*” as prosody: laughter and other auditory information represented in a textual way. Herring (2001a: 617) claims that

Strategies such as these, rather than reflecting impoverished or simplified communication, demonstrate the ability of users to adapt the computer medium to their expressive needs. Significantly, this results in a linguistic variety that, despite being produced by written-like means, frequently contains features of orality.

In the search for graphemic orality in writing, Fouser et al. (2000) classified expressive speech acts (greetings, apologies, pleasure/happiness, sadness, praise/compliments) in synchronous chatrooms and asynchronous public newsgroups using the criteria of standard or non-standard spelling. Standard

orthography was classified as no orality. For deviant spellings they established three coding categories: semasiographic, logographic and phonographic, all representing graphemic orality. Emoticons and other linguistic symbols were classified as semasiographic. The logographic group included abbreviations, and new symbols to represent morphemes or lexical items. If a word was spelled phonetically, lengthened, or an emphasis was added, it was a case of phonographic deviation. Table 4.5 illustrates their three types of deviations for English.

TYPE OF DEVIATION	EXAMPLES
Semasiographic	:) =) =P {{{x}}}
Logographic	!! m/f lol IMHO
Phonographic	hiya cya duz hehe

Table 4.5: Examples of deviation types in English (Fouser et al. 2000: 59)

A detailed classification of abbreviations is suggested by Bush (2005). She, in her study of SMS communications, distinguishes nine semantic categories: Homophonic Single Grapheme, Numeric, Aphesis/Abbreviation, Dropping Vowel, Acronym, Alphanumeric, Grapheme Changes, Abbreviated Phrase, and Contraction respectively (see Table 4.6).

TYPE	EXAMPLES
Homophonic Single Grapheme	c (see), u (you)
Numeric	activ8 (activate), cr8 (create)
Aphesis/Abbreviation	tom (tomorrow), sec (second)
Dropping Vowel	mbrsd (embarrassed), ppl (people)
Acronym	jas (just a second), ttyl (talk to you later)
Alphanumeric	07734 (hello)
Grapheme Changes	cud (could), thnx (thanks)
Abbreviated Phrase	m\$ULkeCrZ (miss you like crazy)
Contraction	bday (birthday), cmon (come on)

Table 4.6: Abbreviation categories in SMS (from Bush 2005)

Examples such as the use of the homophonic single grapheme “u” for you, or a numeric character replacing homophones are still easily decodable. Most of the abbreviations, however, unless familiar to the reader, cannot be easily (or at all) deciphered. The alphanumeric 07734 can represent a text and be understood as hello only if you know that you are supposed to turn it 180 degrees (07734). Additionally, many of the abbreviations are often highly ambiguous.

The greater the decoding effort involved in language processing, the higher the chance that the sociolect under scrutiny is an example of a new vernacular with

its own prescriptive rules. The new vernacular might be an attempt to create covert prestige for group identification. By covert prestige I mean here the sociolect variety with language conventions only accessible from within the group. A good illustration for it will be “l33t” (see e.g., Ross 2006, Tavosanis 2006).

L33t, alternatively referred to as “1337” or “leet”, is a written language variety used in IRC and online games has become increasingly popular especially among teenagers. It dates back to bulletin boards systems (BBS) and was first used by hackers and gamers to safely communicate with one another. The term derives from the word “elite” referring to privileged communities that only selected members and the more advanced computer users could enter. The most common feature is the use of symbols and numbers to replace letters. Some typical character substitutions include, which can be translated in leet as S0m3 7ypi(41 (|-|4r4(73r 5ub57i7u7i0|\5 i|\(1ud3 :

A → 4, B → |3, D → |), E → 3, H → |-|, I → 1, K → |<, L → 1, M → |V|,
N → |\|, O → 0, R → 4, T → 7, V → √, W → \^/, X → ><

Leet has become something of a fashion in recent years and many online dictionaries and translators are available to facilitate the communication.

4.5.8 Transience vs permanence

The Internet brings temporal permanence (see Georgakopoulou 2003). It also gives new meaning to the concepts of fade and durability. Traditionally speech is characterised by transience of oral communication and written language has a fixity potential. In CMC these two characteristics are blurred. The written texts can be rewritten, and modified several times, and there is no guarantee that the version we see today will look the same tomorrow (e.g. a blog entry) or for that matter will be available tomorrow at all. Crystal (2001: 94) observes that:

The one thing we can say about traditional writing is that it is permanent. You open a book at page 6, close the book, then open it at page 6 again. You expect to see the same thing. You would be more than a little surprised if the page had changed in the interim. But this kind of impermanence is perfectly normal on the Web - where indeed you can see the page changing in front of your eyes. Words appear and disappear, in varying colours. Sentences slide onto the screen and off again. Letters dance before your eyes.

The permanence of Internet based text has recently been extended thanks to the Internet Archive project. The project may be compared to a library where arbitrary pieces of the available literature are collected, here random pages of the Internet are being regularly archived. So, even if the page under discussion gets removed, it is possible that a copy is still available in the Internet archives.

4.5.9 Hypertext

Hypertextuality, or intertextuality, is one of the most fundamental features of most CMCs (at least the Web, blogs, etc.) giving them the characteristic non-linearity. Hypertextuality means the ability the reader has to move from one place in the text to another. This move can be taking place internally (within the same page or pages of the same site) or externally (between different sites) and corresponds to footnotes and bibliographical information in traditional written text. This ability is activated through links which are the key elements in hypertextual structure (Burbules 1998: 103). Hypertextuality affects the traditional linear structure of text turning it into a non-linear construct. Although, in principle the text is still read in a linear way the user is presented with more options and involvement to determine the connections.

4.5.10 English on the Internet

Although the Internet is multilingual, recent statistics (Internet World Stats, November 2007) shows that English is the most popular, single language on the Internet (Figure 4.4). Here, no distinction is made between different varieties of English.

Since the Web spans time and space in an unprecedented way it enables people to communicate cross-culturally and a lot of this communication takes place in English making it the lingua franca of the Internet. Danet and Herring (2007) predict that “[f]or the foreseeable future, and for many different reasons, English will be the lingua franca of the Internet.” But whose English is it? Judy (1999: 4) argues that “It is neither English nor British, neither North American nor Australian, neither South African nor Indian, neither Jamaican nor Singaporean, nor does it stand for anything like a cultural aggregate of all these.”

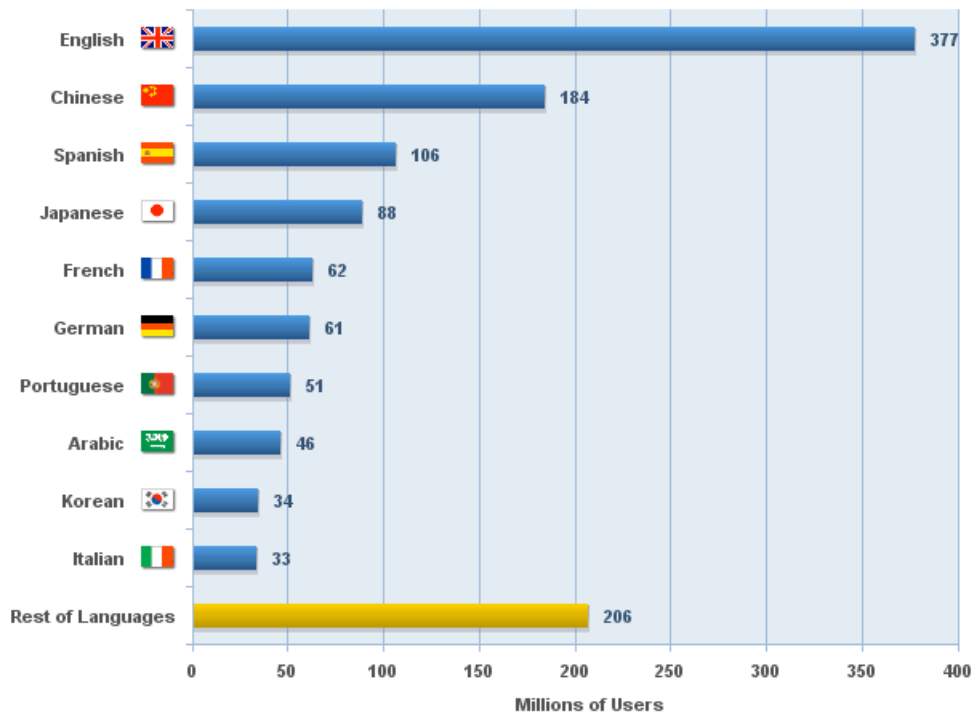


Figure 4.4: Top ten languages on the Internet (Internet World Stats, November 2007)

Already in 2003, CyberAtlas estimated that two-thirds of the speakers using English online were non-native speakers (in the traditional sense of the word, see also chapter 3.6.3). This may have serious implications for the role of the non-native speaker in the evolution and change of the English language and its destandardisation.

4.6 Summary

The Internet is not only the newest but also the fastest growing electronic medium of communication, that has changed the face of information dissemination dramatically over the past decade. Networked computers have made it possible to electronically exchange spoken/written language at a distance, in real or near-real time (synchronously or asynchronously).

The Internet has promoted communication and networking between users from its very beginning. Initially, CMC was dominated by one-sided interaction mainly e-commerce and portal sites. In the last few years, thanks to software development, for example in open-source-projects, we have been observing the emergence of tools emphasizing the social nature of computer-mediated communication. New print-based communication technologies, such as multi-user

domains, synchronous and asynchronous networking, and hypertext and the resulting practices, for example blogs, Wikis, and Instant Messaging are examples of what is commonly referred to as “social software”. It is characterised by shifting the distribution of power given to the individual user who now becomes an active content creator.

The Internet has also accelerated and triggered changes in human language and fostered the development of CMC.

Online language is unique. It is not simply a new way of exchanging messages, passing notes, or sending letters or memos. Nor is it simply a revamped kind of talking on the phone. Instead, online language combines writing and speaking in unique and unprecedented ways. It is a creative language, yet one that does not abandon the purposes or the values of traditional writing or speech. It is language driven by the media to which it belongs, one that recognizes that traditional communication doesn't quite cut it. (Randall 2002: 41)

This chapter has focused on the history of human interaction on the Internet and the characteristic dimensions of computer-mediated communication. We looked at the users and the functions of online communication. Drawing from the analysis of the language of CMC we can conclude that the Web alters the communication characteristics considerably. It offers immediate delivery of information overcoming time and space constraints, and making it accessible to anyone at anytime. Among the writing discourse forms are email, list-servs (mailing list servers), newsgroups, chat, MUDs, instant messaging (IM), sms and, recently, messages shared over HTML webpages via the so-called Weblogs (blogs), which will be the topic of the next chapter. Crystal (2006: 3), referring to the amount of language used and transmitted through the Web, states that “World Wide Web was a misnomer. It should have been Word Wide Web.”

5. Blogs

As bloggers, we're in the middle of, and enjoying, an evolution of communication. (...) What's important is that we've embraced a medium free of the physical limitations of pages, intrusions of editors, and delays of tedious publishing systems.

(Hourihan 2002)

5.1 Introduction

With the necessary knowledge about new media and computer-mediated communication (chapter 4), this chapter will lay out the background for the choice of data for language change studies. The freedom to experiment with language granted in literary, journalistic or political contexts is relatively restricted for an ordinary language user. That is, ordinary people are equipped with the mechanisms for creativity but with neither the power, nor the tools to disseminate their inventions. Blogs go a long way in remedying this situation.

Glance et al. (2004) call blogs “a fascinating new medium for communication and publication.” Van Dijck (2004) sees blogs as a hybrid tool that emerged from the fusion of old and new technologies. The year 2003 was hailed “the year of the blog” (Brooks et al. 2003), and soon after the main dictionaries, for example, online editions of the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, added the term “blog” to their list of entries. I will explain what is so fascinating about blogs, which old and new technologies they combine, why the term gained such prompt recognition and how blogs are relevant for my lexical change studies. In this chapter, I will investigate the nature of blogs, their history, structure, as well as their communicative, psychological and social aspects. Throughout the chapter I will investigate the impact they have on life, society, communication and information dissemination. The key features of CMC, speed and reach, interactivity, as well as democratising potential (see chapter 4), and their implied impact on the lexicon, here English, will also be discussed in the context of blogs. I will analyse both formal and functional aspects of blogs. The structure of a blog is important as it defines the scope definition of a blog and distinguishes it from other CMC forms. Functionally, blogs are about identity

creation, communication, and archiving. Blogs redefine communication roles and patterns. The new communicative and democratising potential that blogs offer accounts for their mass reach and popularity. They are intended for the general audience. They can have a potentially high reach comparable to that of mainstream media, such as newspapers. Popularity, in the sense of numbers of authors and the impact on readers, is important as it directly contributes, not only to information dissemination, but also to language dissemination and the emergence of new vocabulary.

The chapter starts with an overview of the origin of blogs, followed by a discussion on generic format and tools. Next, I summarize the reach and growth of the Blogosphere and its impact on mainstream media and society. The remainder of the chapter is focussed on the dimensions of blog-communication.

5.2 Blog history

In order to understand the complex and hybrid nature of blogs, the merger of print and Internet culture, their history should first be discussed. In this section we will first look at the two forerunners of blogs: diaries and personal webpages.

5.2.1 Diary

Traditionally a diary has been defined as “a private, handwritten document that chronicles the experiences, observations and reflections of a single person at the moment of inscription” (Van Dijck 2004). Mallon (1986: 1) characterises a diary “as carrier of the private, the everyday, the intriguing, the sordid, the sublime, the boring - in short, a chronicle of everything.” Diarists may be chroniclers of the everyday, travellers who record their journeys, pilgrims who repent their sins, or even prisoners who use diaries to create lives rather than record them (Mallon 1986). One of the best-known diaries today is the one written by Samuel Pepys between 1660-1669. It offers a detailed picture of the times, mixed with personal observations and comments.

Diaristic writing is a variety of self-representational writing. To exclude other forms of personal writing, Rosenwald (1988) suggests a form / function based definition of a diary. He says:

In form a diary is a chronologically ordered sequence of dated entries addressed to an unspecified audience. We call that form a diary when a writer uses it to fulfil certain functions. We might describe those functions collectively as the discontinuous recording of aspects of the writer's own life (Rosenwald 1988: 5)

His approach makes it possible to distinguish diaries from autobiographies (no discontinuous recording), and letters (no unspecified audience). The function of a diary, recording the aspects of the writer's own life, is deliberately left as a vague notion. Rosenwald explains that the diary does not have to be occupied with the description of self, it may also be a book of gossip or notes on the weather and so on.

The diary, the journal, the *Tagebuch*, the *ephemerides* must be conceived as a book of days and dates and intervals. Whatever functions a diary serves, the writer of it chooses for them a form articulated by dates in chronological order, and a mode of writing spaced over time. (Rosenwald 1988: 6)

The terms "diary" and "journal" are often used interchangeably, though some scholars distinguish between the two using intimacy as the criterion. Mallon (1986: 1) observes that "they're both rooted in the idea of dailiness, but perhaps because of *journal's* links to the newspaper trade and *diary's* to the *dear*, the latter seems more intimate than the former."

5.2.2 Personal webpage

The personal website, also referred to as a homepage or personal webpage, is "published and maintained by an individual who may or may not be affiliated with a larger institution" (Döring 2002: 4). It differs from the websites maintained by organizations, institutions and other formal groups in its content and ownership status, which can usually be determined from page titles or headings, for example, "Welcome to Bjarne Stroustrup's homepage!", "Personal Webpage of Wolfgang Menges", "Lila's homepage", "Welcome to Sylvia's Corner". These websites are personal in nature with content usually about the webpage author or something she is interested in. They can vary from simple to complex pages with multiple links and multimedia.

A personal webpage involves self-presentation and the construction of identity. Döring argues that "As a medium of self-expression and self-construction,

the personal homepage represents important and potentially beneficial variants of our intrapersonal communication” (2002: 7). A private homepage is also emancipatory in nature. It can enable people who have self-presentation difficulties in face-to-face interaction, people who are introvert, or stigmatised in some way, “to reveal their identities without risking the rejection or harassment that may be experienced in everyday life” (Cheung 2004: 57). Additionally, it surpasses the private identity construction, for example, traditional diary writing, by public “validatory feedback from the net browsers” (Cheung 2004: 61).

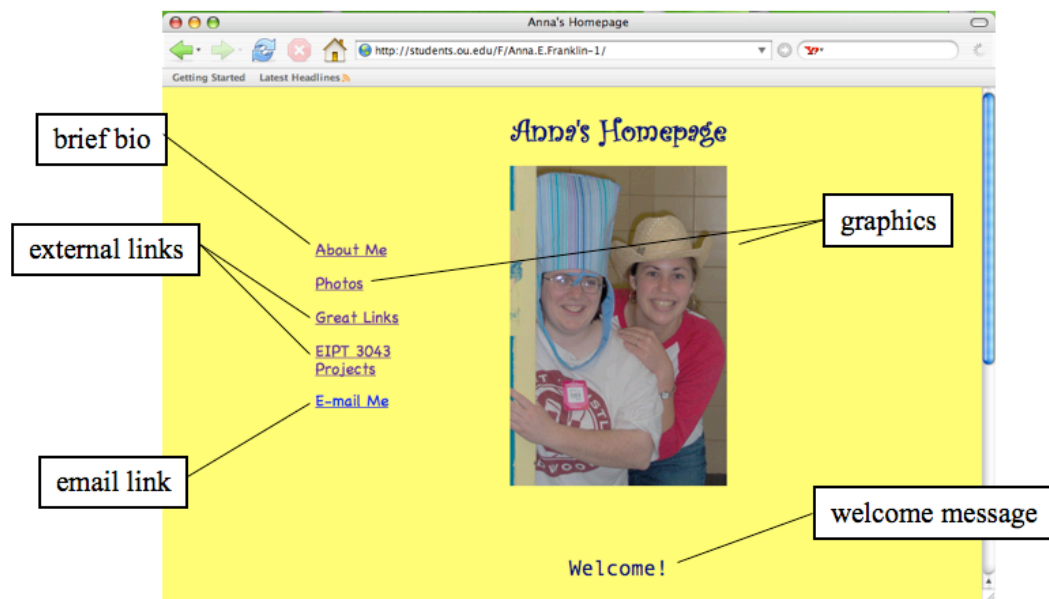


Figure 5.1: Typical elements of a personal webpage

Dillon and Gushrowski (2000: 203), having analysed over a hundred personal homepages define as core elements of the genre “personal homepage”: email links, external links, a welcome message, 1-4 graphics, and a brief bio (see Figure 5.1). As we will see later, all of these elements (in various configurations) are also present in blogs.

A typical homepage is characterised by the asymmetry of communication. Although most pages contain some interactive features (an email link or FAQs) “Web authors are confronted with chronic shortage of information regarding both the composition of their audience as well as the audience’s expectations and assessments of the home page” (Döring 2002: 8).

5.2.3 A weblog

Although weblogs appeared as early as the Web, the term “weblog” was not used until December 1997. The coining of “weblog”, is commonly attributed to Barger (Blood 2000, Kahney 2000), who called his newly set-up website "WebLog" as it was a kind of day-to-day log, on the Web, of his reading and intellectual pursuits (for detailed morphological discussion of the neologism see also chapter 3). According to the online edition of the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, a log is a “record of performance, events, or day-to-day activities <a computer *log*>” The term was later de-capitalized to “weblog” and in 1999 clipped to “blog”, the form most commonly used nowadays, by Merholz. He explains in his blog, “I’ve decided to pronounce the word "weblog" as wee'- blog. Or "blog" for short” (Merholz 2002).

Blogs are defined as frequently updated webpages, with entries in reverse-chronological order and often containing hyperlinks (Gurak et al. 2004). They have been labelled as “amateur journalism” (Lasica 2001, Kantor 2006), “a modern-day Speakers’ Corner” (Richmond 2006), “a collaborative, open model for information exchange” (Good 2005), “push-button publishing for the people” (Papacharissi 2003), and “peer-review journals” (Torio 2005). The *OED Online* offers the following definition: “A frequently updated website consisting of personal observations, excerpts from other sources, etc., typically run by a single person, and usually with hyperlinks to other sites; an online journal or diary.”

In 2007, ten years after the term “weblog” was first used, blogs have become an important element of the new digital reality and media, and it is more and more difficult to comprehensively define what a blog is. The difficulty lies in the fact that blogs vary greatly in content, purpose (from links and commentary to company news, knowledge management tools and artistic self-expression), role of the audience, and communication channel (see section 5.7). Moreover, because of the rapid, continuing growth of the blogosphere (as the blog world is collectively referred to), ‘blog’ seems to be losing its original meaning and is starting to refer to any web related activity that involves publishing and regular updates. Already in 2003, Shirky (2003) predicted that “At some point (probably one we’ve already passed), weblog technology will be seen as a platform for so many forms of publishing, filtering, aggregation, and syndication that blogging will stop referring

to any particularly coherent activity.” A year later, Ohmukai et al. (2004) proved him right when they noted that “there is no strict definition about weblog but it is recognized as a website which consists of miscellaneous notes.”

Blogs are either considered native to the web or the result of the evolution of the existing print and Internet genres: diaries and personal homepages.

In the mid 90s, some website providers (e.g. Geocities and Angelfire) allowed more and more people to create websites. Archee (2003: 42) explains that “The blog was born when the quality of these websites became an issue, and many people started creating their own frequently updated lists (or logs) of valuable links and information.” Blogs were initially webpages containing only hyperlinks, so called linklogs or filterlogs, which served as an account of the interesting things found while navigating the Web, a way to filter and store useful information (Cheung 2004). Blogs were originally “intended as alternative and amateur news sites, created to display interesting bits of information that did not make it into mainstream news” (Papacharissi 2003). These link-driven web pages in time turned into a mixture of detailed transcriptions of Web wanderings with additional comments and personal thoughts (Blood 2000). The blog authors acted like editors, preselecting valuable links and using the blog as a filter. Of course the preselection was subjective and the contribution of blogs to general information dissemination was variable. Simultaneously, different net communities developed that gathered Internet users sharing similar interests. As a result, weblog communities emerged. “Weblogs have established a small island of rationality and stability among the sea of information that the Internet has thrown at everyone” (Barrett 1999). According to Edmonds et al. (2004), blogging can be seen as “a universal information management system built on extending the traditional hypertext framework.” Before 1999, when the first web-based blog design tools were made available, blogs could only be created by people with adequate web design knowledge. Nowadays everybody with Internet access can start a blog and programming skills are not a prerequisite.

Blog publishing is often perceived as an exercise in self-presentation, similar to personal homepages. Barrett (1999) distinguishes between homepages and weblogs in the following way:

Home pages are places where you put pictures of your family and your cats. It's a place to distribute information to a close circle of family and

friends. Weblogs, however, are designed for an audience. They have a voice. They have a personality. Simply put, they are an interactive extension of who you are.

But “interactive extension” and “personality” are not the only features that differentiate between a blog and a homepage. “Compared to homepages, blogs now may be considered more applicable for purposes of debate” (Jensen and Helles 2005).

Wijnia (2004) argues that contrary to a homepage a blog “not only transmits information through the internet, but also takes on a receiving role” and readers have the opportunity to “get involved in conversations.” Using Van Dijk’s interactivity model (see section 4.4.2) she concludes that blogs, similar to discussion forums, reach the second level of interactivity (synchronicity).

The second element co-creating present-day blogs were diaries, especially online diaries and journals. Online diaries started in the mid-1990s. Early diaries resembled simple notebooks in layout and required at least some basic skills in web designing and programming. With Internet providers offering free space and ready to use templates, personal webpages were made accessible to non computer-savvy people who soon started looking for a more sophisticated model and moved from a static homepage to a dynamic, regularly updated page of a personal nature. This personal page became “a space for one’s daily musings” (Serfaty 2004: 20).

Online diaries combine the seemingly contradictory aspects of private and public. A diary, by definition, is a record of private life but the online diary is published and publicly available. McNeill (2005) argues that the pairing of the diary genre and the Internet is paradoxical as “the diary is a centuries-old practice associated with the spiritual, the therapeutic, and the strictly private, while the Internet, home of the “New Media,” has been celebrated for its publicity and accessibility.”

Nowadays, the distinction between an online diary and a blog is becoming blurred and many researchers use the terms synonymously to describe the resulting hybrid form. Both blogs and online diaries have a diary-like structure, with frequently updated entries, presented in reverse-chronological order. According to Van Dijk (2004) “Bloggers are retooling the practice of diary writing, meanwhile creating a new type of cultural knowledge and social interaction via their tools. The reciprocity inherent in networked systems points at a profound reorganisation

in social consciousness.” Serfaty (2004: 22) sees the distinction as “increasingly meaningless, as one form seems to have morphed into the other.” The distinction becomes even more blurred as new blog spinoffs emerge, for example, knowledge logs, video blogs, educational blogs, political blogs, each serving a different purpose. Some argue, however, that the terminological distinction should remain (Blood 2000, Lindahl and Blount 2003, Schaap 2004). The use of inclusive or exclusive definition directly affects many aspects of blog research. For example, Herring et al. (2004a) argue that “Excluding personal journals – defining them as less important or ‘not weblogs’ – not only minimizes women’s and teens’ contributions to the evolution of blogging, but overlooks broader human motivations underlying the weblog phenomenon.”

While discussing the diary genre (section 5.2.2) I quoted Rosenwald (1988) who insists on the distinction of form and function, with form being of primary importance. We can apply the same distinction here, with generic format as a common denominator and content as a flexible notion of anything of a personal nature, where ‘personal’ should be seen not necessarily as about one’s life and experiences but also as reflecting interests, hobbies, indeed anything the author finds important.

The role of the structure as a uniting element between different types of blogs has been stressed from early on by many bloggers and blog researchers, for example, Williams and Hourihan, the cofounders of Pyra Labs, the company behind the first publicly available blogging software. For Williams (Turnbull 2001) blogs are “about three things: Frequency, Brevity, and Personality” and “the format – not the content.” Hourihan (2002) elaborates on his claim and defines blogs as

(...) a way of organizing information, independent of its topic. What we write about does not define us as bloggers; it's how we write about it (frequently, ad nauseam, peppered with links). Weblogs simply provide the framework, as haiku imposes order on words. The structure of the documents we're creating enable us to build our social networks on top of it – the distributed conversations, the blog-rolling lists, and the friendships that begin online and are solidified over a "bloggers dinner" in the real world.
(Hourihan 2002)

The next section will discuss the various types of blogs.

5.3 Blog typology

Many blog classifications have been offered (e.g. Kawaura et al. 1998, Krishnamurthy 2002, Shirky 2003, Herring et al. 2004b). It is difficult, however, to compare them as they are often based on disjoint sets of criteria. The general dimensions that have been investigated in the various studies are content, authorship, communication type, audience size, and media type.

When we analyse blogs along the dimension of content they can be divided into general and topical.

General blogs are the most common type. More than 80% of Viégas' (2005) respondents characterised their entries as "personal musings" and over 70% of blogs in the sample by Herring et al. (2004b) were personal journal types. General blogs are either journals of a personal nature or blogs that cover a variety of topics. Various terms have been used in the literature to refer to what I have labelled as "general blogs". Most commonly they are referred to as "online journals" (Glance et al. 2004, Schmidt et al. 2005), "personal journals" (Herring et al. 2004a and 2004b), "personal musings" (Viégas 2005), and "online diaries" (Kawaura et al. 1998, Krishnamurthy 2002).

Kawaura et al. (1998) provide a detailed analysis of the general blog type. They distinguish four different types of online diaries: memoirs, journals, narrowly defined diaries, and open diaries. Their classification is based on a two-dimensional description of the content (a record of fact or an expression of sentiment) and the authors' consciousness (either self-oriented or reader-oriented). Memoirs are self-conscious records of fact. Journals are records of fact with the conscious presence of the reader. Narrowly defined diaries are accounts of emotions, opinions, and attitudes, and open diaries are accounts of emotions, opinions, and attitudes, with the conscious presence of the reader.

Topical blogs encompass a whole variety of blogs that are more focussed in terms of content. For example, Herring et al. (2004a) distinguish two types of topical blogs, namely knowledge blogs (k-logs) and filter blogs. Schmidt et al. (2005) listed three different blog types: tools for organisational communication, journalistic publications and knowledge management tools (what Herring et al. 2004a called k-logs). Glance et al. (2004) additionally identified the following types: blog-pundits (where self-declared experts publish "updates and analysis of

events within his/her domain”), blogs as self-expression for artists/writers “who use weblogging to self-publish stories, poems, art, music, photographs”, and spam blogs, now frequently referred to as splogs (cf. Lee 2005), which aim at manipulating search results and boosting traffic to selected websites. Viégas (2005) asked bloggers to characterise the kinds of entries they publish. Apart from the general blog type they could choose their answers from: academic brainstorm, professional brainstorm, political opinions, hobby, gossip, and other (where they had to supply the answer). A fifth of her respondents admitted to publishing mostly lists of useful/interesting links.

Another dimension along which blogs can be analysed is the type of authorship. Blogs are written by an individual (individual blogs), or by a group of people (multi-author blogs). If we combine the content and authorship criteria, a two-dimensional model for blog classification emerges. The four blog types we obtain as a result are

- online diaries which are personal and individual,
- support groups which are still personal but multi-author type blogs,
- enhanced columns, that is, blogs which are individual, and
- topical and collaborative content which is topical and multi-authored (see also Krishnamurthy 2002).

Blogs also differ in their communicative function, that is, communication direction. Blogs can focus on interaction or self-expression. When a blog focuses on self-expression we have ‘blog-monologue’ and among the communication type we can distinguish ‘blog-dialogue’ and ‘blog-community’. This issue will be discussed in detail in section 5.7.2.

Taking into consideration audience size, and intensity of interaction, Shirky (2003) distinguished three types of blog: “blogging classic”, “blogs-as-mainstream-media”, and “blogs-as-dinner-conversation”. Blogging classics are interactive exchanges between an author and the audience. As the audience becomes larger, the author is unable to respond to all the comments people leave on the blog, nor increase the blogroll indefinitely to accommodate everyone who wants attention. Consequently, the blog either gets abandoned or turns into the mainstream media type where the blogger “becomes a broadcast outlet, distributing material without participating in conversations about it” (Shirky 2003). Blogs-as-dinner-conversations are written for a specific audience in mind, for

example friends, rather than some impersonal audience. They usually have few readers and are very conversational with a high level of interactivity. Blogging classics are blogs published by one person or a few people, for a moderately-sized audience, with whom the authors have a relatively engaged relationship.

Blogs can also differ in the way their content is delivered. Traditionally, as we will see in the following section (5.4), they are text-based (text blogs), and link-based (linklogs). Nowadays blog types have expanded to include a wide range of media. Consequently we have blogs exclusively with photos or mainly photo based (photoblogs), blogs that contain video clips (vlogs), and blogs that are based on sound files (audioblogs). The last media type blog that should be mentioned is the mobile blog (moblog). What is interesting about it is the method of content creation, here a mobile phone. Moblogs are updated with the help of mobile phones. The moblog is different from all previously mentioned blogs as it is not restricted as far as content is concerned. It can include text, sound files, video and so on depending in the functionality of the mobile phone the blogger is using.

5.4 Generic format and tools

Early bloggers were computer savvy people, usually web designers or programmers, who were able to create their own blogs using HTML and other web-programming languages. Since 1999, various publishing tools, requiring no programming skills, have been made available. Most online portals (e.g., Yahoo, and MSN) offer blogging tools and host blogs in the same way they host email accounts. Many websites offer blog manuals. There are also separate websites devoted exclusively to blogging – monitoring, explaining, or discussing, for example the BNC blog news channel by Google (<http://google.blognewschannel.com/>).

Blogs would not have reached mass audiences and become so popular were it not for the availability of user-friendly publishing tools (Hesseldahl 2004). “Blogs captured the imagination of a commercial Web-weary audience, with entrepreneurs building special tools and sites catering to a blog-hungry public” (Archee 2003: 42). Nowadays anybody with Internet access can set up a blog in a few seconds (see e.g. www.blogger.com). All you have to do is select a template, a name for the blog and start writing.

The blogging software provides the users with various templates, which incorporate the main visual design elements. The general perception is that, to a large extent, the form of a blog is imposed and restricted by the publishing software tools used. In fact, many of the provided software templates can easily be customised. However, a study by Scheidt and Wright (2004) shows that most bloggers stick to the typical layout and “design innovations breaking out of a certain ‘acceptable’ visual style are increasingly rare.”

Blog sites should be considered as multi-layered structures, where the topmost level is the entire blog site composed of numerous blog pages. A typical blog page has a two- or three-column layout which can generally be divided into main body and sidebar elements. Every blog site has a main page, often called a homepage, which is the first page of each site (Herring et al. 2004b: 7). Depending on the format, the homepage may be the general page with the introductory entry (i.e. a static page) or may contain a recent entry (i.e. a dynamic page as it changes with every new entry) in the blog. Some blogs also have a comments page. This is present in blogs that allow commentary but display the comments on a separate page (at a lower level) rather than in the main body.

The choice of specific visual design elements (division into columns, image use, font colour, and so on) influences the nontextual communication and self-expression of the blog (Scheidt and Wright 2004). The presence or absence of the selected elements directly contributes to the communication properties displayed by a blog and the creation of an image, reality and the message as a whole. The author’s decision to include or exclude an element reveals a lot about him, his interests, the assigned audience role, the function of the blog and so on.

The structure of a blog is also relevant for the narrow or broad definition of a blog. Some researchers see and analyse blogs in the narrow sense – that is, only the main page or main body elements or even only the posts. Others see blogs as a complete unit including sidebars, comments, and so on. The following two sections discuss the blogging elements in detail.

5.4.1 Main body

The main body contains a blog post with various additional characteristics such as header, permalink, signature, and comments. A post, often referred to as a blog

entry, is the fundamental and defining feature of a blog. It is usually a text entry but it may also be a picture, video or sound file, a link, or any combination of these. Serfaty (2004) refers to the fact that text is no longer the only mode of expression as accumulation. She observes that not only can two or more media occur side-by-side but also that this coexistence does not always have to be actual, it can also be implied “as evidenced by the practice of providing links to pictures located outside the text proper” (Serfaty 2004: 24). The length of the entry can be anything from a single word (link, picture, file) to a long story. The posts are displayed in reverse-chronological order, that is, the most recent post is visible at the top. This gives the feeling of immediacy and synchronicity. The posts are usually preceded by a header, which may be a title or simply a date/time indicator. There may also be a sub-header with identification information of the author, and a date/time if not mentioned in the header.

The entry is often followed by a signature, meta-references, and interaction tools (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3). The signature may be the author’s name or nickname and/or a date. It is usually introduced by the phrase “posted by”, “written by” or “blogged by” and/or a date which can be just a year, year and month, year month and day, day, day and month.

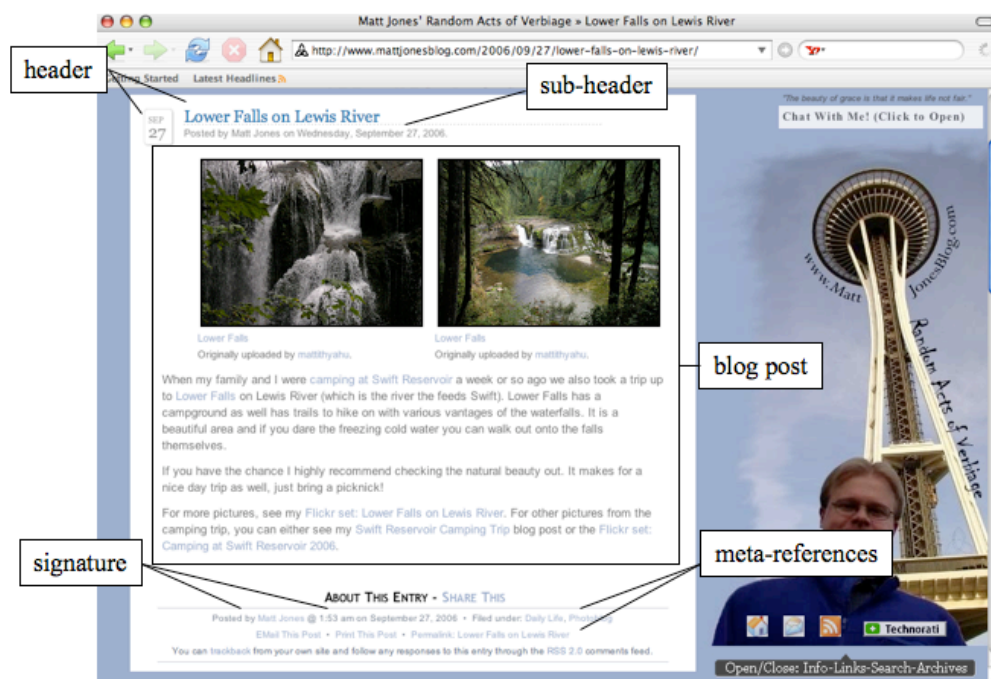


Figure 5.2: Typical components of the main body of a blog

All time references in the main body, whether those in the header or sub-header or those in the signature are generally referred to as a time stamp. “By its very presence, the time stamp connotes the sense of timely content; the implicit value of time to the weblog itself is apparent because the time is overtly stated on each post. Without the time stamp, the reader is unable to discern the author's update pattern, or experience a moment of a shared experience” (Hourihan 2002).

The meta-references include a different type of information; among the most frequent meta-references are permalink and catalogue headwords.

Permalink (a blend from ‘permanent link’) is a URL pointing to a specific blog entry. In this way it is easy to not only find a given entry, even if it has already been and is no longer displayed as the topmost post, but to also catalogue the entry according to different criteria. Hourihan (2002) observes “The permalink allows for precise references, creating a way for authors to link to the specific piece of information to which they're responding.”

Catalogue headwords are categories under which the author groups the individual entries. Authors, besides sorting the entries chronologically, also categorize them according to the topics they discuss, for example, family, job, philosophy, or politics. Consequently, many blogs also resemble searchable databases. In this way, a reader can easily locate all the entries on a particular topic.

Meta references may also include tools for printing the entry, or forwarding it via an email.

As blogs are also about communication, the blog entry is usually accompanied by interaction tools in the form of comments or feedback where the author of the blog gives readers a form to respond to a specific post (Figure 5.3). Depending on the blog, commenting may be activated at the same level as the blog, with all comments visible directly after the post, or at a lower level with only a link to the comments (indicating the number of comments) available under the post. There are also ways to comment on a blog in general or on topics unrelated to the post, but these are conducted through other interaction tools, which are typically part of the sidebar as discussed in the next section.

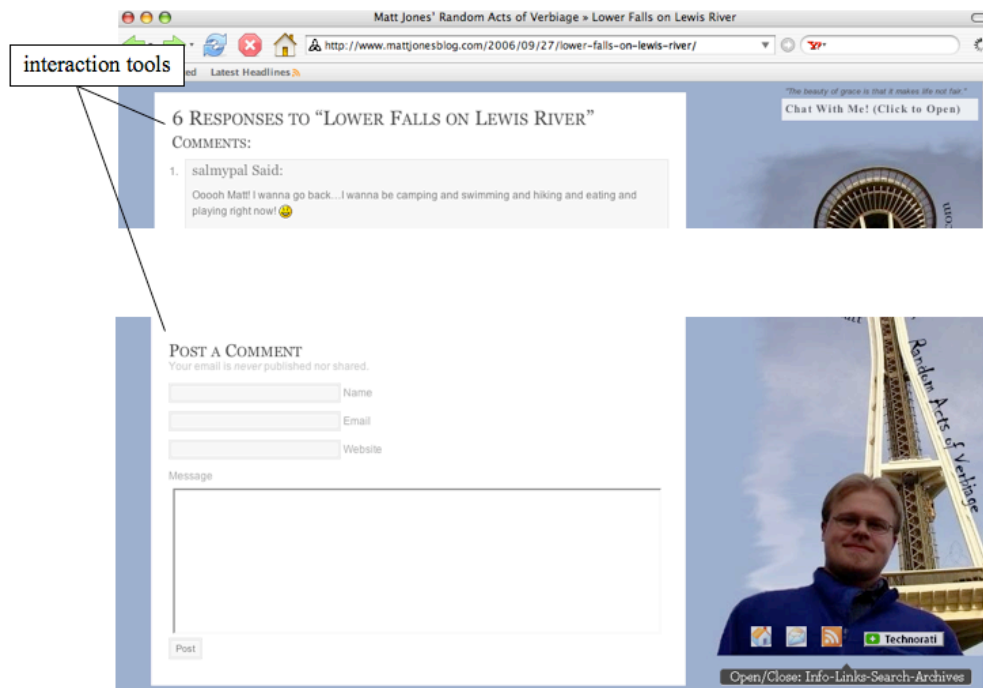


Figure 5.3: Typical comments page

5.4.2 Sidebar elements

Sidebar elements are all the elements, text, links, pictures and so on that are placed outside the main body. They can be placed on either or both sides of the main body and above or below it.

The sidebar elements include links, blogroll, email address, biographical information, IM option, archives, thematically ordered rubrics etc. Sidebar elements usually also include various navigation tools, for example, a link back to the main page and the directly preceding and following entry, general search options (similar to a search on Google or Yahoo where the key search term has to be entered), archives (a link to a chronological collection of all the previous entries) or a topic catalogue. They may also contain (a link to) personal information usually referred to as an “about” section, contact information such as email, skype ID, and a link to a personal homepage. Depending on the author, additional lists of links may be grouped into a blogroll – a list of links to the author’s favourite blogs, or into favourite links – a selection of other interesting pages the blogger wants to draw the readers attention to. The only limit to the sidebar elements is the imagination and the computer skills of the author.

5.5 Reach and growth of the blogosphere

In recent years, blogs, initially seen as a passing Internet trend, have evolved into an important method of personal information distribution, private and public communication and community creation. Burg (2004: 13) sees blogs as “communicative avantgarde of social software.” Blogs are often quoted as a model example of what is now popularly referred to as “Web2” – social web. Gauntlett (2004: 12) explains that

blogs also seem part of a new philosophy on the Web, that the best things are not necessarily noisy animated explosions of multimedia innovation, but are simple and effective phenomena which use the medium in a measured, accessible way, and connect people around the world. It's what the World Wide Web was always meant to be about.

Tracing the origin of blogs, Squire (2003) observes “Numerous popular blogs were started by just “plain folks” from around the world, who have created niche markets with their online diaries. For low-profile posters, blogging has become a simple means of storytelling and keeping friends and family up-to-date.” There is an easy sociological and technical explanation for the popularity of blogs among “plain folks” (see Levy 2002). On the one hand blogs are examples of democratic Internet application, in the sense that they give everyone (with computer and Internet access) a platform to express one’s views and to directly contribute to the free flow of information, successfully overcoming censorship. Moreover, their success mainly depends “on the quality of their ideas and their writing” rather than “on their formal credentials” (Herring et al. 2004a). On the other hand, there are lots of free tools that make blogs easy to set up, use and update. There exist ready-made blog templates requiring no special technical/programming skills, where anyone can create a weblog in less than a minute. Shirky explains the staggering rise of blogs as follows “It costs nothing to launch a weblog, and there is no vetting process, so the threshold for having a weblog is only infinitesimally larger than the threshold for getting online in the first place” (Shirky 2003).

Blogs started in the early 90s as a niche tool for structuring information links, knowledge management and personal diaries (see section 5.2.3). A decade later, they were already mainstream and global, and became “a trendy Web toy for the stream-of-consciousness set” (Hesseldahl 2003). Nowadays, they are on the verge of turning into an ordinary Web application. The blog maturation phase,

moving from the hype stage into the ordinary, has been nicely summarized by Nunberg (2001) who said “‘blog’ is clearly the word whose time has come”.

Figure 5.4 shows the development of the blogosphere, that is blogs as a community and social network, in the recent years. According to Technorati, a real-time search engine for blogs, the blogosphere consistently doubles every six months, and in early 2007, reached over 70 million blogs. They estimate that a new blog is created every second of every day.

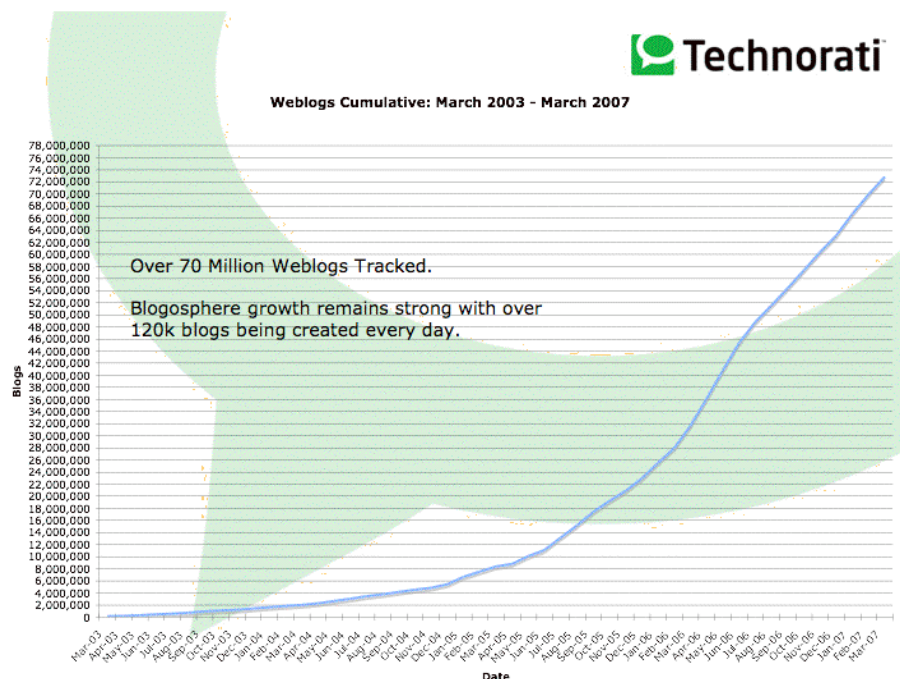


Figure 5.4: Growth of the blogosphere Weblogs (Technorati, April 2007)

Edmonds et al. (2004) see blogs “evolving towards common-use hypertext destined to play a critical role in everyday life”. It is difficult to disagree. There are various indicators supporting the observation that blogs have now become an important and influential element of new media content creation, be it private or public. They can be roughly classified as internal and external indicators. By internal indicators I mean those which are observable only within the blog community. External indicators, on the other hand, are those that are reflected, triggered by, or currently an element of, originally blog-free environments.

5.5.1 Popularity indicators

The popularity of a blog can be measured by the number of people who read them (unique visits), who add them to their favourites list, and the number of other webpages that link to the blog in question. These three measures are not necessarily correlated. For example, Mark Frauenfelder's blog, "Boing Boing: A Directory of Wonderful Things", is ranked first in terms of the number of people who have made it a favourite. However, it is ranked ninth in popularity based on the number of links attracted (157,066 as of 12.02.2007, Technorati).

The size of the readership and the feedback received are often directly responsible for the blog being maintained or abandoned. Edmonds et al. (2004) observe that "Popularity is important to blog authors as it determines their influence in areas of importance to them." There are many computerized tools that track the unique visits to blogs, and many blog hosting platforms (e.g., Blogger, LiveJournal, Technorati) offer popularity rankings based on the size of readerships.

Another indicator that belongs to both the internal and external categories is the plethora of various (best) blog awards/competitions. They may reflect the need of the blogging community to prize and promote the best examples of blogging – an internal indicator – or may be an attempt by other groups, organizations, media types to acknowledge blogging as an important part of the present media world. The awards are either based on a nomination process open to the public, that is awarded by general public/popular vote, or jury-awarded. The awards vary in the degree of quality, prestige and the controversial nature of judging. For illustrative purposes I pick out just a few examples.

The first awards, started by individuals, were quite arbitrary and biased. As early as 2001, Nolan, a 22-year-old senior at the University of Michigan, started giving what are now the Annual Weblog Awards. Initially, he gave these awards to people he knew (Glaser 2005). Blog competitions are not only run by the blogging community. Since 2004, *Deutsche Welle*, the German public broadcaster, has organized International Weblog Awards. In 2004, *The Washington Post* started with Best Blogs – Politics & Elections Readers' Choice Award. *Forbes* magazine has its own selection of best blogs meant to save readers the trouble of searching for blogs in the absence of suitable search utilities for blogs on specific topics (Hesseldahl 2004).

As blogging is of interest to a wide variety of people – the business community, the media content creation community, psychologists, communication experts, and education experts among others, a whole array of conferences concerning different aspects of blogging have been organized around the world. Many more conferences include blogging as one of the topics.

5.5.2 Quantity, quality and language

In light of the immense popularity of blogs and their accessibility both for potential authors and readers, one has to ask the questions: how do quantity and popularity affect the quality, or rather, how is the quality reflected in the popularity, and what kind of quality should we talk about?

In its list of factors responsible for quality ranking, Google's blog search includes the following positive indicators of blog quality: popularity of the blog, inclusion of the blog in blogrolls, and references to the blog by other sources (Silawski 2007).

Many blog manuals contain guidelines as to what would constitute a good blog. Generally they focus on design (structure and format), content (topics, language), or both. Turner (2005) defines a winning blog in the Thebestofblogs awards according to the criteria of navigability, easy reading, regular updates, user-friendly structure and well-written content. Although content is the most important criterion.

Blogs, as with CMC in general, give rise to the critical discussion of destandardisation and deteriorating quality of the written language (see section 4.4.3). Maillat (2006) calls them the epitome of the “cataclysmic change” taking place in broadcast English. He illustrates it with the following sentences taken from a blog by Steve Vaught “The Fat Man Walking”:

- (1) Tornado knocked the sign over! I think that it rusted the death.
- (2) Sumptin ta do!
- (3) Electric generating plant steam

Maillat also expresses concern about public availability and extreme popularity of this blog and other such blogs. For example, “The Fat Man Walking” attracted approximately 700'000 hits a month and was linked to by such powerful mainstream media as *The Guardian*, BBC-News, and CNN. It seems to confirm

Graddol's (2000: 56) observation that "with increasing use of electronic communication much of the social and cultural effect of the stability of print has already been lost, along with central "gatekeeping" agents." Now the gatekeeping function has been taken over by ordinary people who, for example, through reading, linking and commenting (i.e., popularity indicators) regulate the content of the web.

Baron (2007), talking about future developments of the written language in the CMC age, predicts two plausible scenarios: a print culture sans print where online media replace handwriting and standards for language, especially sentence mechanics relax and a print sans print culture where visual and auditory media are given more prominence and the written word is increasingly ephemeral.

As we saw in chapters 3 and 4, when we talk about English language in the 21st century, and particularly language in the digital media, we no longer have to restrict ourselves to the traditional native speaker variety but rather to functional native speakers. Blogs, similar to chatrooms and other CMC types, redefine and extend the reach, which, here, is language-based rather than restricted by a physical place, profession, age or other factors.

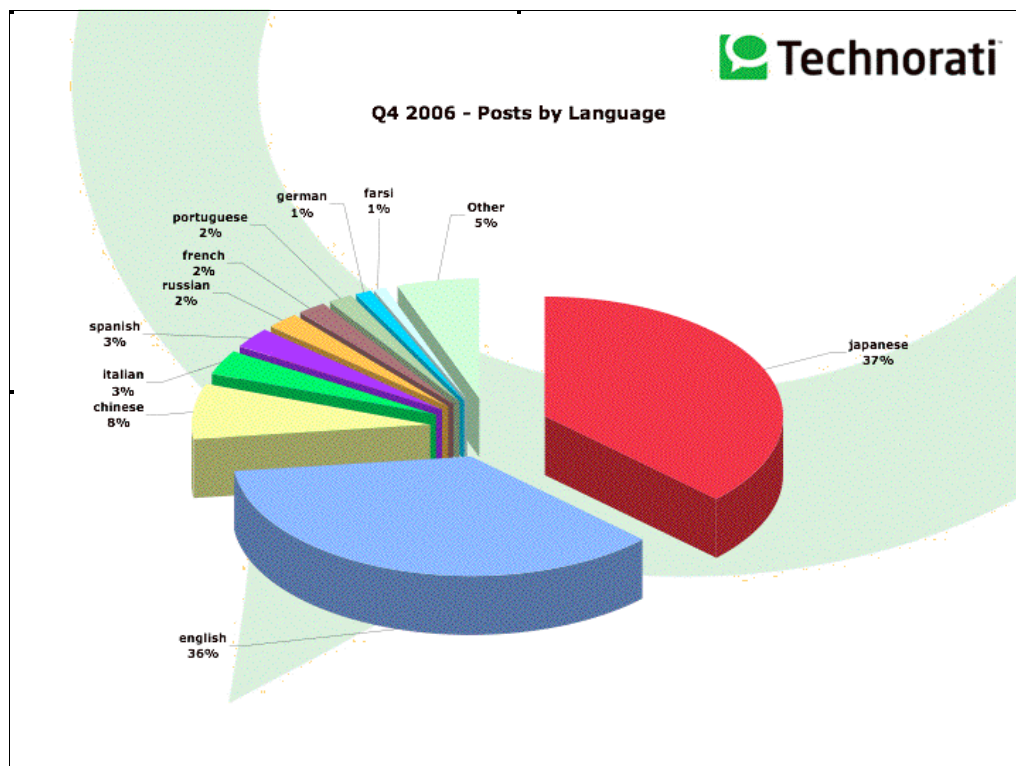


Figure 5.5: Blog posts by language (source: Technorati April 2007)

Historically, English has dominated the blogosphere. Herring et al. (2007) examine the language use in randomly selected blogs from the LiveJournal hosting platform to determine general language demographics, especially the use of languages other than English. They found that English still dominates the LiveJournal blogosphere globally. The latest study by Technorati (Sifry 2007) reveals that Japanese is the most popular language if measured by the number of posts (37%) and that English lost its dominance in the blogosphere and holds second place now, with 36% of the posts (Figure 5.5). These findings refer only to blog posts indexed by Technorati and as such do not necessarily contradict the findings of Herring et al. (2007).

5.6 Impact on the mainstream media and society

Blogs have become a regular section in the online editions of many newspapers and magazines including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Time Magazine*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail* and *Newsweek* (Figure 5.6).

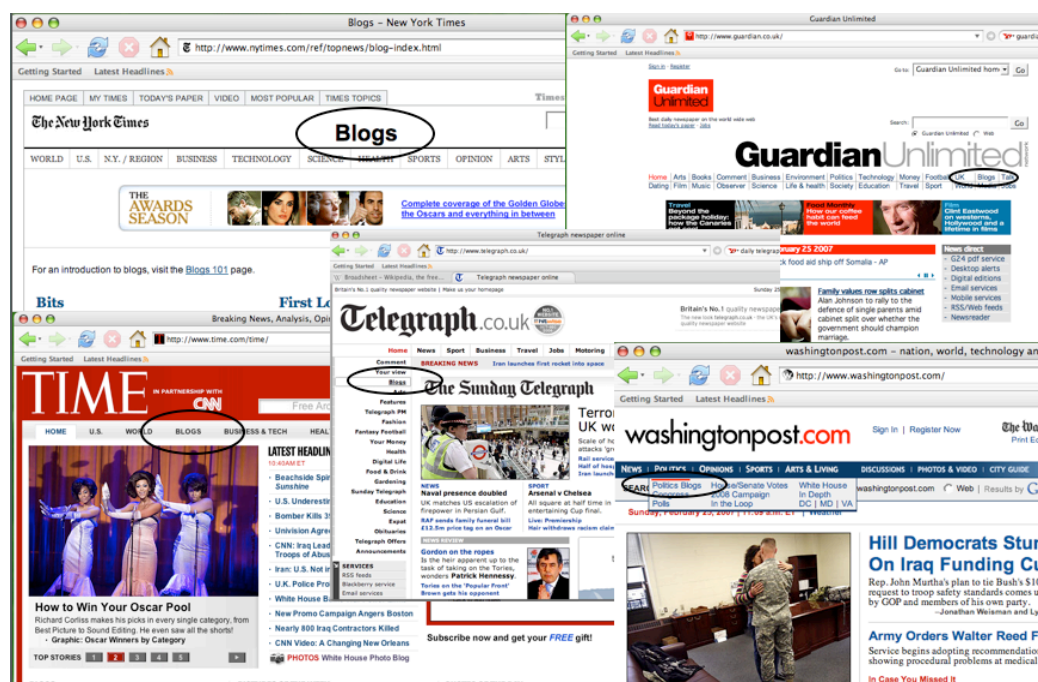


Figure 5.6: Blogs in online newspapers (February 2007)

Why should newspapers and magazines include blogs alongside the regular articles? I can think of several reasons. Blogs have a number of advantages over traditional journalistic articles: the speed of publication, the up-to-dateness

resulting from the unrestricted frequency of updates and the unprecedented interactivity. The blog sections in online versions of print media are often seen as debate platforms. To make it easier for the readers to overcome technical inhibitions, all of the above mentioned online editions also contain brief, reader-friendly manuals and information about blogging and the ways of interacting. Blogs in online newspapers and magazines are written by professional journalists, who use them to conduct a “more authentic” conversation with their audience (Bowman and Willis 2005: 8). Such blogs focus on presenting opinion and triggering discussion. They also tend to be more personal, reflecting the journalist’s own attitudes and not necessarily the editorial position.

Another example of media merging is the inclusion of journalistic blogging in TV programs. In CNN’s TV documentary series “World’s Untold Stories” two episodes were created by a popular blogger, Salam Pax. The episodes were titled “Baghdad Blogger” and aired on April 13-15 and 20-22, 2007. On the media level, the two episodes reflect the changes taking place in society and the new distribution of power, with the voice of ordinary people being perhaps, not more important, but at least better heard. CNN advertised the first episode both on TV and on its webpage as follows:

We see disturbing pictures from Iraq on a daily basis. Reporters reporting. Politicians talking. But what about the ordinary Iraqis who struggle to earn a living, keep the family unit intact and simply survive from one day to the next? "Baghdad Blogger" Salam Pax takes an insightful and sometimes irreverent look at the daily travails in two reports: "How to Stay Alive in Iraq" and "How to Have Fun in Baghdad."

Both episodes were available on the CNN website after the program had been aired.

Nowadays, blogs also seem to be the most natural source of current news and stories, an alternative source of information to big press potentates. Blogs, especially news blogs, threaten the hegemony of mainstream news media. They shift the authority of the top-down approach to grass-roots, citizen journalism, where popularity and influence are measured through credibility. Consequently, to stay in the race, traditional news media become more transparent and participatory. For example, CBS News and BBC News have blogs (“Public Eye” and “Editor’s Blog” respectively) run by their journalists and editors who explain editorial decisions, answer questions, and share dilemmas. Present-day news coverage is

more and more often a partnership between news media and the public invited to actively contribute to content creation. Bowman and Willis (2005: 6) state:

(...) citizen journalists are contributing many varieties of information and news: first-person, grass-roots reporting, not only in text but with photos, audio and video; commentary and analysis; fact-checking and watchdogging, and filtering and editing the ever-growing mass of information online.

According to Neisser (2004), bloggers have earned “a seat at the information table”, a fact increasingly acknowledged by the mainstream media as well as news generators. For example, Jeralyn Merritt a blogger of TalkLeft.com received press credentials to cover the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston. Neisser (2004) observes:

One of the reasons blogs have become so popular is that they have also become more credible, breaking stories sooner, challenging positions, exposing inaccuracies and generally wreaking havoc on the traditional press. For the first time, bloggers had space in the press boxes at both political conventions and were issuing stories and counter-stories faster than James Earl Jones can say “this is CNN.”

Bloggers report breaking news, important events, verify stories reported elsewhere and discuss and report events that are not easily accessible. They offer outlets for information that may have been ignored by mainstream media (Papacharissi 2003).

At the 2007 Academy Awards ceremony when most TV channels were not reporting the event on air, *BBC*, *CNN* and many other online services had live blog coverage relating the event, as it was unfolding, to the readers (Figure 5.7). These blogs were a mixture of pre-ceremony discussions, red carpet photos, short clips, observations and live text reporting (Jucker 2006) as the Oscar event was happening in the Kodak Theatre. The live blogging also included intensive commentary, an important blogging element. For example, the *oscarwatch.com* blog mentioned above attracted 1218 comments during the few hours of the awards ceremony. Some comments were from people who, although watching the show live, were still interested in sharing/expressing their opinions and feelings about the winners as they were announced. Others treated it as a source of information and opinion about the ceremony as they were unable to watch it themselves. In this case, it was the commentary rather than the main entry blog itself that served as a “speaker’s corner” to those who wanted to form some kind of temporary community sharing the same interest with people watching the

ceremony as well with those who could only rely on blog updates for the information.

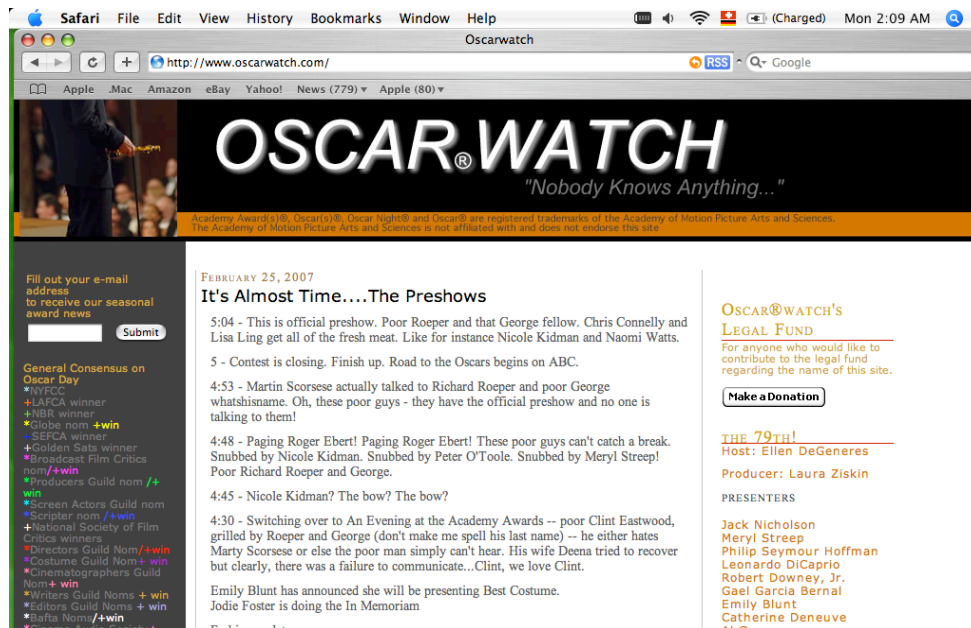


Figure 5.7: Oscar Watch blog (Canadian CBC News)

Blogs have also affected literature. Those that turned into successful books include *Baghdad Burning: Girl Blog from Iraq* by Riverbend (2005), *Diary of a Dysfunctional Flight Attendant: The Queen of Sky Blog* by Simonetti (2006), also *Julie and Julia* by Powell (2005) or *Blood, Sweat and Tea* by Reynolds (2006).

The vast communicative potential that blogs offer encourages people from all walks of life to start blogging. Celebrities use blogs as a free and direct publicity option. Blogs have become an important element of political campaigning (Trammell 2006, Trammell et al. 2006a and 2006b) and politicians use them to communicate with the electorate. Among other bloggers there are environmental activists, scholars and even Nobel laureates.

The potential of this new medium with its private/public status (see section 5.7.2), its speed of information dissemination and wide reach is often underestimated. There are many examples where information disseminated through blogs has influenced private lives, business or politics (see Viégas 2005). Some information posted on blogs caused people to lose their jobs (Gordon and Cobey 2005), landed people in prison (Delio 2003, Mercado-Kierkegaard 2006), destroyed political careers (Kurtz 2005) or boosted them (Weiss 2003).

I will briefly discuss four different cases of blog influence or anticipated influence, below.

The first example illustrates the speed of information dissemination. Bloggers reported General Tommy Franks' endorsement of Bush several hours before the official announcement at the convention (Neisser 2004).

Another example is the Kryptonite bike lock controversy. The information that one could open the Kryptonite locks with a ballpoint pen was disseminated through the blogosphere, causing a PR disaster for Kryptonite.

The Australian Olympic Committee have banned those Australian athletes competing in the 2008 Olympics in Beijing, China, from blogging for the duration of the games. The Secretary General of the Australian Olympic Committee, Craig Phillip, introduced the ban to prevent the Beijing Olympic village from turning into "a reality TV show" and because "Blogging would allow athletes to launch missiles electronically, and it could become a real free for all" (Bryant 2007).

Finally, a completely different case. In order to promote its PSP (Sony's Playstation), Sony created a flog (flog is short for "fake blog", that is, a blog used as a marketing tool) alliwantforxmasisapsp.com. The blog was purportedly authored by an amateur hip-hop artist "Charlie" who wanted to persuade his friend's parents to buy him a PSP for Christmas. The blog was exposed shortly after it was created (Weaver 2006). Sony's marketing effort was a fiasco and did irreparable damage to their brand to an extent the company would not have foreseen (see Gupta 2006, Gryniewicz and Bojanowski 2007, Kaczmarek 2007).

5.7 Blog – communication dimensions

In chapter 4, I have looked at the dimensions of CMC analysis. In this section the same criteria will be applied to blogs.

5.7.1 Mode and medial qualities of the channel

So far, not much linguistic research has been done on this aspect. The few researchers who have studied the mode and medial qualities of blogs have used models proposed by Crystal (1997 and 2001a) or Koch and Oesterreicher (1994) as discussed below (see also 4.4.2).

Nilsson (2003) has investigated the differences between spoken and written language by applying the criteria suggested by Crystal. Her study shows that blogs, like email, and other types of CMC, share aspects of both spoken and written language, and cannot be classified exclusively as one or the other. According to Nilsson, blogs are partly space and time bound. The text is restricted to the space it occupies, and the post length is restricted by accepted range and user-friendliness, though there are no predefined standards. The dynamic nature of a blog is manifested in the frequently changed main page due to the addition of new posts, whereas the archived entries, that usually remain unedited, are the static elements. As the time lag between the creation of the post entry and its reception can vary considerably, blogs cannot be seen as spontaneous as face-to-face conversations. On the other hand, most post entries are not examples of carefully preplanned text but rather exhibit immediacy in nature, so they cannot be considered as contrived, in the same way as written language is. Although still textually based, many blogs turn to the use of multimedia, context creation and the use of various paralinguistic cues: smileys, emoticons, imagery etc. Constructions used in blogs are characteristic of both spoken and written language. Similar to speech, blogs can be socially interactive and also factually communicative as writing. Blog entries may be revised repeatedly although this is not a common practice. Finally, they are graphically rich, with increasing options of encoding prosody as well.

Using the Koch and Oesterreicher model of communication Schlobinski and Siever (2005) have analysed German blogs. They conclude that the blogs in their sample represent communication of proximity and conceptual orality as manifested through examples of colloquialisms, discourse markers, interjections, and elliptic constructions. Interestingly, they also find that German bloggers were rather strict about spelling conventions, for example, upper and lower case, at the same time they manifested higher tolerance for mistakes than in regular websites.

5.7.2 Communication direction and type

Cywinska-Milonas (2002) suggests a categorization of blogs according to the communication direction into blog-monologue, blog-dialogue, and blog-community.

Blog-monologue is the simplest method of blogging. By definition it is a one-way communication, a starting point most bloggers go through till they gain readership. In blog-monologue, the blogger is only a sender of information and publishes entries regardless of whether they are read. The main function of blog-monologue is not communication but an opportunity to write down personal ideas in a digital form. Examples of blog-monologues include those blogs where the interaction tools, for example, the comment option, are not available at all. The initial postings of a majority of blogs were monologues, before the blogs evolved into a more complex form of blog-dialogue. Blog-monologue is similar to a private diary and to traditional one-way mass communication at the same time.

In blog-dialogues, the author of the blog is not the only sender of information. In fact, in blog-dialogue we can talk about the author, the owner of the blog, and the co-authors, that is, blog participants who actively contribute to the blog, respond to the posts, discuss, ask questions and are in touch with the author, through comments, guest book and other interaction tools. Communication here is still, to a large extent, one-way when we consider the unbalanced contributions of the author and the readers, as well as the communicative initiative. The readers, usually, merely comment on what the blogger has already written and it is the blogger who initiates topics for discussion and controls the post. Blog-dialogue is the most common form of blogging.

The third category of blog, as far as communication direction is concerned, is blog-community. It is the most complex form of blogging, and is quite rare. Blog-community is a multi-author blog. It is coordinated, rather than written, by one blogger (or a small group) who serves as the moderator of the discussion rather than the author of the blog. His role is to publish an introductory note, which is a starting point for the discussion, and to monitor the conversation. Such discussions sometimes take the form of asynchronous chat-forums with a few hundred posts. In this type of blogging, the division into sender and receiver is less important than the emerging group dynamics. Metafilter, one of the more popular blog communities, defines itself as a blog “that anyone can contribute a link or a comment to.” The main aim of the Metafilter community blog is “to break down the barriers between people, to extend a weblog beyond just one person, and to foster discussion among its members.”

In terms of communication types, the traditional distinction of intrapersonal, interpersonal and mass media (see section 4.3.6) cannot be directly applied to blogs. On the Web, all writing, regardless of the specific aim, “is written for publication” (Ferris 1997: 2). That is, anything written on the Web is considered published, and blogs are examples of web publishing. According to Jucker (2005), only blogs attracting the audience of thousands are part of the mass media channel. Perschke and Lübcke (2005), however, argue that all blogs are mass communication, but in a different way. Although few blogs reach the audience of hundreds of thousands, the way newspapers or other mass media do, they give everybody with a computer and Internet access a chance to become a producer and publisher. Blogs clearly redefine the distribution of power online. I contend that blogs should be seen as a mass medium not only from a production point of view but also from the view of reception, because they have very high “multiplicity” (in the sense used by Kaufer and Carley 1994: 35). Multiplicity refers to the number of people that can be communicated with at the same time and is a result of spatial distance and increased communication speed. Blogs can have an audience of hundreds of thousands. If we recall that the Internet population worldwide is currently more than a billion, that implies more than a billion potential readers. Whereas in pre-Web, and especially pre-blog, times “only the privileged-celebrities, politicians, media magnates, advertisers had access to the mass audience” (Dominick 1999: 647). For example, the readership of political blogs matches that of the major news-weeklies (Neisser 2004) and some of the most popular blogs “have traffic and online reach that outpace mainstream news media destinations” (Bowman and Willis 2005: 6).

Blogs are examples of mass communication in a new way. They are examples of new, interactive media where communication direction is no longer one-sided (van Dijk 1999, van Dijk and de Vos 2001, Wijnia 2004). They have high multiplicity, and democratise the roles of a producer and publisher, as well as redefine communication roles in general (see also section 5.7.3). Additionally, blogs merge the public with the private, which creates an interesting paradox (Miller and Shepherd 2004). In many cases, the communication is a mixture of private, personal content of a confessional nature, and public delivery that may remain anonymous. By public delivery, I mean the conscious choice of a blog author to make the blogs freely accessible on the Web rather than to keep them

unindexed (thus not publicly visible) or protected (for example through a password).

Nardi et al. (2004) distinguish two kinds of audiences: bloggers social networks (e.g., family and friends, although Nunberg (2001) argues that blogs are not meant to be read by friends and family), and a large general audience. Blogs may be addressed to a specific audience, nevertheless, the moment they are published online they also become addressed to the global audience, that is, everyone, and at the same time to nobody in particular, a sort of “to whom it may concern” type of addressee.

A blog enables the author to publish his views on the web in a more interactive form than other traditional publication formats (Herring et al. 2006). They make maximum use of the new expressive potential the Web offers to produce highly individualized, creative content and display it to a global audience, which, as argued by Gauntlett (2004), would not have been possible at the same scale in the pre-Web era:

We may be able to produce a painting, or a poem, or an amateur ‘magazine’, but without the Web, most of us would not have the opportunity or resources to find an audience for our work. We could force our family, and friends to admire our masterpiece, but that would be about it. (Gauntlett 2004: 14f.)

Mass communication as employed in blogs also incorporates intrapersonal and interpersonal communication variables. The networked society communication model (Van Dijk 1999) and the interactive mass communication model (Janoschka 2004) are the closest representations of communication as it happens in blogs. Both models, however, would need revising if they are to reflect the main communication levels present in blogs: blog as a post, blog as comments, and blog as a complete website (Perschke and Lübcke 2005).

5.7.3 Roles – bloggers and their audience

Blogs, as we saw in section 5.7.2, are examples of interactive, networked mass communication. As a result, the roles played by the blog participants are a combination of the roles from interpersonal and mass media communication. In media language production, one can distinguish four traditional roles: the principal initiating the communication process, the author composing the actual message,

the sub-editor who influences the author's output and finally the animators who transmit the produced message (Jucker 2005). Bloggers combine all four media language production roles, initiating the communication, composing, editing and delivering the actual message. Generally, as already mentioned in section 5.7.2, blog authors are not the only ones who can initiate and influence the communication process. Here, however, I want to look at how the blog communication affects and redefines the roles of the participants.

In interpersonal communication we can distinguish two basic types of participants: senders and receivers, with speakers alternating the roles as they take turns. Bloggers are primarily seen as senders and initiators of the communication. The audience, whether specified or not, is seen as a set of receivers. This straightforward distribution of roles, where a blogger is an active content creator and the reader is just a passive participant, however, is applicable only to blogs that do not encourage interaction. That is, to those that, although publicly published, are examples of unidirectional communication where feedback is not enabled (mass media in traditional form). The audience there plays the passive role of reader. The reader might decide to remain a passive participant even if the interaction tools are available.

The majority of bloggers make it possible for their readers to actively participate in the blog. The figures differ depending on the study. According to an online survey by Viégas (2005), 76% of bloggers give readers unlimited access to their blogs. In a different study Lenhart and Fox (2006) found out that 87% of bloggers allow comments to be posted on their blog and 41% of bloggers have a blogroll, or friends list, on their blog. Whenever interaction tools are available, the traditional distinction between sender and receiver, here author and reader, gets blurred. The author's post may trigger a response from the reader, and thus involve him in the communicative interaction. Consequently, a reader, by writing a comment, becomes an active participant in the conversation, a "commentor" (Wenmoth 2006). A commentor's contribution can in turn affect the author directly or indirectly. The author may respond directly in the comments section, or on a more general level in a subsequent blog post. Both the blog author and the commentor thus share and alternate the roles of sender and receiver in this communication process. Archee (2003: 42) comments on the changing roles participants play as follows:

The more you investigate blogs, the more you realize that there is no print equivalent to the publication of such personal and group-oriented information. There is also no other medium that so encourages the audience to participate in the whole process. In some cases, the readers may take over the blog, thus blurring the line between author and audience. Notions of usability are turned on their head when the audience becomes the author.

Of course, usually, the author controls the content of what is published in his blog as he has the power to block, filter and edit the comments submitted by the co-authors. He may also choose to ignore the comments, or block a certain commentor altogether. Some bloggers provide restricted commentary access forcing the reader to log on in order to be able to post a comment.

In most cases the direction of communication is asymmetrical, that is, there is a lack of balance between the senders and the receivers (except in the case of blog-communities). This asymmetry manifests itself not only in the number of posts, and the formal control over the blog, its topics, and interactions, but also in the private information the participants reveal about themselves. With every post the authors disclose more about themselves. The readers, on the other hand, may remain completely anonymous, with only an IP address as identification.

5.7.4 Portrait of a blogger

Is there such a thing as a typical blogger? If we look at various studies on the topic a common demographic picture seems to emerge. The typical blogger does not differ much from the users of other Internet communication platforms, that is, an adult, male, residing in the United States (Herring et al. 2004b). This picture of a blogger corresponds to the media portrayal of the blogging phenomenon where the author is typically presented as an adult male.

One should, however, be wary of generalizations. More detailed studies (using survey analysis or content analysis) revealed that the blogging population is very diverse and there are clear cultural differences in blogging practices, as outlined below.

Researching the Polish blogosphere, Gierszewski (2002) surveyed 1000 bloggers, from one blogging portal (www.blog.pl), to conclude that 62 % of blogs are written by women and 75% of bloggers were young people under the age of 20. According to a survey conducted by Schmidt and Wilbers (2006), the typical German blogger in 2005 was a man around 30, with a higher education, an Internet

savvy person, who spends between 10-20 hours online every week. Lenhart and Fox (2006) surveyed the American blogging population to conclude that it is young, evenly split between women and men, and racially diverse.

Distribution of gender and age of blog authors also depends on the type of blog. A blog portal on the webpage for women who are interested in diets and weight loss, such as *Vitalia* (<http://diety.kobieta.pl/index.php>), unsurprisingly has almost exclusively young female bloggers.

Herring et al. (2004b) analysed a random sample of 357 blogs collected from a blog tracking site, blo.gs. Their general analysis revealed that although the distribution of gender and age is roughly even in their sample (52% males, and 48% females) the journal blog is mainly authored by teen females whereas filter-type blogs and k-logs are dominated by male authors.

There is another, more serious problem with previously mentioned studies. How can we establish the demographics of bloggers if we know that not all bloggers disclose their personal information and even if they do we can never be sure if the information is true? One, therefore, has to be careful while analysing the demographics of bloggers.

A different way of studying bloggers has been suggested by Skorzynska (2002). In her study of blogging motivation she distinguishes the general aims that blog authors have: therapeutic (sharing the pain, achieving relief), social (creating communities), communicational (improving communicational skills), creative (creating the self and the ability to express the self), entertaining (tests, quizzes, etc.), and an attempt at self-definition – a combination of all the previous aims. In another study, Nardi et al. (2004) identify several reasons for blogging. Interestingly, every reason requires the presence of an audience. People blog to update others on their activities and whereabouts, to express opinions to influence others, to seek the opinions of others and their feedback, to think by writing, and to release emotional tension. These reasons are not mutually exclusive and bloggers often combine more than one.

Another approach to studying bloggers is partly a result of the motivation studies mentioned above. Cywinska-Milonas (2002), using psychological criteria, distinguishes bloggers according to personality types of exhibitionism, extrovertism, self-therapy, self-presentation, self-promotion and creativity. They are discussed below.

The initial perception of a blogger by a non-blogger is that the former must be an exhibitionist since he uses the blog as a place to share very intimate thoughts and feelings. Cywinska-Milonas (2002) argues that blogs, personal in nature, become exhibitionistic first of all when they are digitally published and secondly when the authors willingly give up their rights to anonymity. That is, when they reveal personal information, name, address, contact numbers, and photographs. According to Herring et al. (2004b), most bloggers (92.2% in their sample) indeed display exhibitionistic traits. The explicit personal information revealed by the bloggers includes full name (31.4%), only the first name (36.2%), or a pseudonym (28.7%). More than half (54%) of the bloggers provided other kinds of personal information such as age, occupation, or geographic location. A study by Viégas (2005) confirms the tendency among bloggers for self-identification. Out of the 492 bloggers she surveyed, 81% used some form of self-identification. Nardi et al. (2004) found that many reveal contact information (for example phone numbers, addresses etc.) as well.

The degree of information revealed is directly linked to the function and type of blog. For example, Su et al. (2005) observed that political bloggers tend to reveal more identity information than personal bloggers. As an extreme example of exhibitionistic blogging, Cywinska-Milonas (2002) cites a blog written by a young woman describing her affair with a married man in which she reveals personal information of both herself and her lover – name, address, phone number, office phone number, their photographs. People might assume most bloggers to be extroverts. Yet, if we remember that blogging is a way of communication then we might find that in fact there are more introverts, as blogging is a very secure way of communication.

Another type of blogger is someone who blogs as a way of self-therapy. This type of blogging is very common in the aftermath of traumatic events: death, war etc. (see Krishnamurthy 2002 on blogging after the September 11th, Johnson 2005 on blogging after the Tsunami, and Pennebaker 1997 on the healing power of writing in general)

By far the most common characteristics of bloggers is self-presentation (Herring et al. 2004b). Bloggers want to express their own views on topics of interest to them. For example, Cameron Barret, an author of CamWorld blog, explains his blogging motivation as follows:

You see, CamWorld is about me. It's about who I am, what I know, and what I think. And it's about my place in the New Media society. CamWorld is a peek into the subconsciousness that makes me tick. It's not about finding the most links the fastest, automated archiving, or searchable personal web sites. It's about educating those who have come to know me about what I feel is important in the increasingly complex world we live in, both online and off. CamWorld is an experiment in self-expression.

(Barrett 1999)

The authors can present themselves without being placed under confrontational pressure which, as observed by Döring (2002: 8), “can encourage heightened self-disclosure and authenticity”. They can also “vent anger, reveal desires, and exact revenge without fear of repercussion” (Su et al. 2005).

There are also people who write a blog as self-promotion, to satisfy their need to be popular. Finally, a very different type of blogger is the one who looks at blogs as an artistic space, an opportunity to share his works of art – poetry, short stories, comics, or photos.

5.7.5 Time-space compression and community building

Face to face communication tends to be synchronous and have zero multiplicity (Kaufer and Carley 1994). Blogs redefine the temporal and spatial proximity in communication as their high multiplicity allows greater spatial distance and faster spread.

Blogs are, generally, classified as asynchronous communication, that is, bloggers and their audience do not communicate at the same time. However, similar to the general time function in CMC, (see section 4.4.6) for senders (the authors of the blog) the message delivery is instantaneous and in real time. Since blogs are typically frequently updated and most entries are time stamped the chance that the author and the reader are on the blog at the same time, and are aware of that, increases. Hourihan (2002) argues for this special type of synchronicity in blogs as follows “if I visit your site at 4:02 p.m. and see you just updated at 3:55 p.m., it's as if our packets crossed in the ether. You, the author, and I, the reader, were "there" at the same time – and this can create a powerful connection between us.”

In the discussion of space (section 4.4.6) I mentioned its two facets: geographical space, and conceptual space. Blogs bridge geographical space similar to other CMC genres, with physical distance posing no hindrance to

communication. Conceptual space restricts a blog to the format imposed by the tool providers. However, as we have seen in section 4.4, firstly, blogs tools are customizable, and secondly, as the technology advances, new options are added. There is no limit to the length of the post, number and types of sidebar elements, or size of the blog site in general. The lack of storage restrictions directly distinguishes blogs from other forms of web publishing such as homepages, namely, that blogs are archive oriented. In a blog, new entries do not substitute the old ones in the way it is done on a regular webpage. Instead, new posts are accumulated to create an ever-growing list of posts (Viégas 2005). Of course, bloggers may choose to edit, republish, or delete some entries but in practice they rarely do so (Nilsson 2003). Therefore, blogs combine communicative, editing and archival functions. “Although the internet is often characterised as a transient, evanescent medium, weblogs have both the ability to fix and the potential to morph; blogging constitutes a new concept of memory, allowing for preservation and erasure simultaneously” (Van Dijck 2004).

With increased speed, storage and reach, communication and social barriers of time and space are broken. Consequently, organic communities (that is, traditional communities associated by ties to a particular time, place and physical reality as well as face-to-face communication) are replaced or supplemented by virtual communities (Van Dijk 1999). Blogs are examples of such a virtual community where people with similar backgrounds or interests, regardless of geographical location, form communities and exchange views (Gauntlett 2004: 16). Su et al. (2005) have conducted a study to find out if bloggers are a global community. The results of their multilingual worldwide (spanning four continents) blogging survey suggest that a universal Internet culture has a greater influence on community feeling than their local cultures.

Blogs function as a virtual place where people can interact, can establish new contacts, and can fulfil some of their social needs. They are a “protected space” (Gumbrecht 2004). In face-to-face communication, people may feel disadvantaged because of physical appearance or social status (Döring 2002). In the blog community, people can enter regardless of education, family status, job, or looks as long as they share the same language. In this respect blogs, alongside with MOOs, can be seen as a “third place” according to Oldenburg’s theory (Oldenburg 1991), where the first place is home, the second place is work and the

third place is a commonly accessible reality where people spend time, meet new people and find a sense of community. The third place is where we can establish true social relations based on character, interests, and lifestyle, rather than on emotional or structural hierarchy which characterise work and family. Typical third places are bars, cafes, beauty parlours, and fitness clubs.

And now here we all are on the Blog. Almost the perfect third place. Poets, activists [sic], philosophers, passing acquaintances, good friends – they're all here whenever I stop by. And I don't have to worry that my hair looks like a fright wig and I'm sitting here in my nightshirt with a cold pack over the right side of my face where my eye feels like a toothache. Third Place. Salon. Without the physical constraints of time, place, and putting on clean clothes. (Kalilily July 14, 2002)

White (2006) identifies three main types of blog-based communities: blogger-centric community, the topic community and the boundaried community. They are distinguished by technology (the impact of blogging tools on the community), social architecture (control and power, identity and interaction processes), and the role of content or subject matter. The blogger-centric community emerges around one blog which can be single or multi authored. The author has control over the blog, he is the initiator of the communication process and sets the topics for conversation. A topic community is a network that forms around a collection of blogs linked by a topic or common interest, for example, business, daily life, entertainment, journalism, literature, politics, and so on. Finally, a boundaried community resembles a forum based community as it is a community of blogs and blog readers restricted by a single platform or site where members have to first register in order to join the community, before they can create their own blog or respond to someone's blog.

In the case of blogging, community creation is additionally visible and reinforced through “social connectedness” (Su et al. 2005: 176) and manifests itself through various forms of interactivity, such as, social network links that arise between blogs, blogrolls, trackback links, and comments. This is discussed in the next section.

5.7.6 Blog conversations - interaction, interactivity and feedback

Blogs enable “new forms of social interaction” and are examples of “connected conversation” (Marlow 2004). The conversational component in blogs can be

represented through dynamic communicative interaction (for example, messages in the guest book, comments under the post) as well as through linking and referencing to other blogs. Characterising interconnection among blogs as a form of conversational interaction might seem controversial but, as Herring et al. (2005) have demonstrated, linking and referencing increases reciprocity, indicating that these bloggers are reading each other's blogs, which, in turn, often leads to dynamic communicative interaction.

Researching newsgroups, Golder and Donath (2004) contend that the lack of feedback is like punishment to the participants. The same holds for bloggers, that is, the lack of comments has a direct impact on the bloggers' motivation to write (Gumbrecht 2004, Mishne and Glance 2006). Van Dijck (2004) sees interactivity as an integral feature of blogs: "Blogging, besides being an act of self-disclosure, is also a ritual of exchange: bloggers *expect* to be signalled and perhaps to be responded to. If not, why would they publish their musings on the internet instead of letting them sit in their personal files?"

The active role of the audience in the co-production of blogs is an important element of blogging conversation. In blogs there are various interaction tools, such as email, guest book, and comments that encourage direct feedback from the audience. White (2006) identifies several direct feedback interaction modes in blogging communities. Messages can be sent: blogger to reader, commentors to blogger, blogger to blogger (she makes a distinction between a commentor who is a blogger and one who is not), and commentors to commentors. Commentors and bloggers can also communicate with the blogger through private back channels, for example, through email or IM, rather than publicly sent communication.

Another aspect of interactivity in blogs is fulfilled through what Serfaty refers to as accumulation (Serfaty 2004: 24): the fact that text is not the only mode of expression. Apart from multimedia (pictures, sound files and so on), accumulation includes outbound hypertext links, search options, forms, and quotes, among others. Outbound links are hypertext links introduced by the blog author, both in the main message body and/or in the sidebar, and can point to other places within the blog or to completely unrelated webpages. It is possible to represent accumulation elements in the form of a graph using, for example, Salathé applet (www.aharef.info/static/htmlgraph/). This applet translates the hierarchically

organized tags into a colour-coded visualization, for example, blue colour represents links; red: tables; violet: images; and orange: blockquotes.

Google, in its advanced, page specific search, enables detailed identification of inbound links and internal blog links. Inbound links are hypertext links pointing to the blog from outside, whereas internal blog links originate within the same blog and point to locations within itself. In order to determine who links to a blog, all we have to do is enter the blog's URL.

Su et al. (2005) claim that blog readers have full control over how much of their identity they reveal. This is no longer the case, as advanced tracking tools (such as Technorati, Site Meter, the Truth Laid Bear, Measure Map, and BlogPulse, to name a few) can also gather detailed visitor information. This includes statistics (blog visits count, distribution, visit patterns and regularity and so on), information about how the reader found the blog (access path), and reader's topic preference. For example, Measure Map, part of Google, offers information about the number of visitors, links to a blog, comments and blog-entry views. It also gives an overview of the geographical distribution of blog readers and commentors (Figure 5.8), where information about active and passive audience is colour-coded.



Figure 5.8: Visitor Information (source: Measure Map, November 2005)

Sitemeter, apart from providing information about the IP address of people visiting the blog, and visitors' referrals (access path), also identifies the physical location they are visiting from. The readers are identified not only by continent and country but also by region and city, whenever possible. The information can be displayed as a world map.

Since most blogs are about conversation Wijnia (2004) proposed a modified definition of a blog putting emphasis on the communicative aspect. A blog, thus, "is a webpage on which author publishes pieces with the intention to start conversation" (Wijnia 2004).

5.8 Summary

Blogs are "a global self-publishing phenomenon that connect Internet users with dynamic, diverse points of view while also enabling comment and participation" (Krane quoted by Hesseldahl 2003).

In this chapter, I first outlined the origin of blogs. Tracing their history, I looked at diaries and personal webpages as elements of print and online cultures that are merged in blogs. Next, I tried to provide a unified definition of what a blog is. As blogs often diverge in function and topic but share a generic form, blog structure was suggested as an important distinguishing criterion of bloghood. Since the main aim of this work is to observe language change at the level of the ordinary user, that is, linguistic creativity and productivity at the individual level, and at the same time the possibility of dissemination of new language formations, factors such as accessibility and tools, blog reach, popularity and impact on the mainstream media and society were discussed next. Finally, I looked at blogs as examples of new communication patterns using dimensions introduced in chapter 4. This chapter also highlighted some of the distinguishing properties of blogs such as: author-centred content, interactive nature, frequent updates, and the reverse-chronological form.

6. Neologisms in blogs

6.1 Introduction

In previous chapters I have discussed theoretical notions of language change at a lexical level. I have summarized the methods of lexical extension as well as the importance of external factors, such as technology, to foster language change. I have also highlighted the changing concept of the native speaker and the role of the language user in the creation and dissemination of language, which so far has been frequently seen as a secondary, if not marginal, element. I have also introduced computer-mediated communication (CMC), with its unique variables, and a new type of communication within CMC, namely blogs.

Building on the discussions in chapters 2-4, here I will look at neologisms in English language blogs. To investigate the lexical change in blogs I have compiled a corpus of 105 arbitrarily selected English language blogs. Approximately 10,000 word samples have been selected from each blog for detailed analysis. To facilitate analysis, a software tool, named Indiana, has been developed to extract neologisms from web-files. Indiana is a HTML-to-text converter combined with a cumulative database and a series of online and offline filters.

In this chapter, first the general research project is outlined. I discuss the methodology and data source as well as various advantages and problems with the approach taken. The functionality of the software-tool Indiana is explained. Next I present quantitative results of my analysis, both in terms of corpus frequencies and individual blog frequencies, as well as the distribution of novel formations across individual blog-samples. The main part of the chapter is devoted to the general qualitative results. The chapter closes with a discussion and illustration of Internet-specific novel formations, as demonstrated in blogs.

The research reported here aims to observe lexical change in progress and to describe language used in blogs, in general. In this section I explain the data selection, methodology, and tools used in the project. This discussion is based on the observation of the language of one register type and of individual users as the

“individual speaker is the central factor with regard to all linguistic phenomena” (Koefoed and van Marle 2000: 311). In morphological studies, preference should be given to “naturally occurring data” in order to avoid the observers’ paradox. This is where blogs come in. As Herring (1996: 5) puts it, “[...] interactions come already entered as text on a computer; [...] observers can observe without their presence being known, thus avoiding the ‘Observer’s Paradox’ that has traditionally plagued research in the social sciences.” For morpho-lexical research, data offered by blogs seems an ideal point of departure. In what follows, corpus compilation is discussed.

6.2 Data collection

The data in this study comes from a corpus of blog samples. I have compiled a corpus of 105 English language blogs selected arbitrarily. Initially, I started with a corpus of 20 random blog samples, each containing 20,000 words, compiled in 2002. Many of these blogs were, however, heavily link-based and therefore not suitable for my research. Consequently, I compiled a new corpus. Since I am interested in lexical material, the selection criteria were that the blogs had to be primarily text blogs (not video, picture etc.), and the language of the blog had to be English. Moreover, blogs that were basically link-logs were excluded. The blogs were systematically added to the corpus in three stages: initial selection in 2002/2003, addition of new entries in 2004, and final verification and complementation in 2005.

The corpus spans 7 years, covering blog entries from as early as October 1998 to October 2005. The blogs are numbered 1-112 and will be referred to in the text as B followed by a number. The numbers range from 1-112 because six blogs (B18, B19, B26, B30, B43 and B61) had to be removed in the final stage of the corpus compilation procedure. They were either discontinued and deleted from the Web (B18, B30 and B43) or turned out to be bilingual blogs (B61), written in English and some other language. Two blogs (B19 and B26) did not contain sufficient text: a blog is expected to have at least 6000 words, in order to be considered in this work. Blogs B70, B73, B99 and B107 have contributed 8214, 8773, 6749 and 7546 words, respectively, to the corpus. From the remaining 101 blogs, samples of 10,000 words each have been extracted. The corpus currently

amounts to slightly more than one million words of running text (1,041,282 words).

6.3 Indiana software tool

Indiana (short for INternet DIctionary ANalyser), is a software-tool that has been developed to extract potential neologisms from web pages¹. The general architecture of the software is illustrated in Figure 6.1 and will be explained in the remainder of this section.

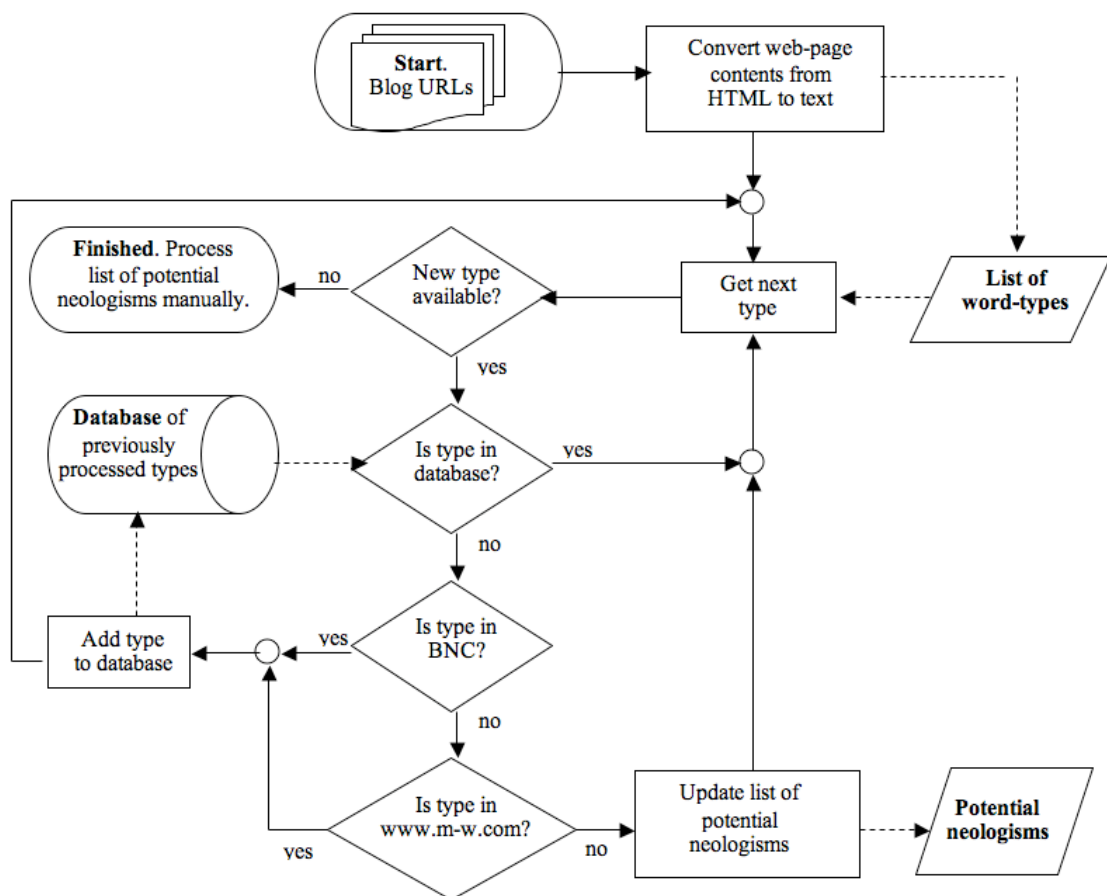


Figure 6.1: Architecture of the Indiana software tool

Indiana, implemented in the Delphi 5 programming language, includes a HTML-to-text converter, a cumulative database and a series of online and offline filters. The main input for Indiana is a file containing a list of URLs of the selected blog-entries. Each blog-entry appears to Indiana as a file of text HTML format.

¹ I thank Bolek Umnicki for helping me with writing the code.

Indiana first strips out the HTML tags, and extracts the textual content of the blog-entry. This plain text is subsequently sorted into a list of words. As bloggers use different service-providers, the HTML-to-text converter needs to be flexible enough to be able to handle different layouts of blogs. The data are collected in four local databases: (Words.d, Text.d, Interest.d and Results.d) all stored in binary (non-text) format. The binary format was selected due to the speed and efficiency that it offered in the sorting and verification process.

For Indiana, any string of alphanumeric characters separated by a space or other special characters (/ \ " () { } []) is a candidate for being considered a word. For every such string, Indiana checks if the string contains at least one letter: if it contains only digits the string is not considered as a word and discarded. So, for example, *2nite*, *f2f* and *g2g* are considered as words by Indiana, whereas tokens such as *?15*, and *+2+* are not.

This computational definition of a word prevents accidental exclusion from the analysis of any creative coinage or CMC-based orthography (see Nastri et al. 2006). The definition is also important for another reason. Since the input blog comes in the form of a list of URLs (each URL referring to one entry of the blog), the selection of the size of the sample takes place only after the entire blog has been converted into text. This means that the original input files for my corpus are usually much bigger than the required 10,000 words. In Indiana, the user can specify the desired sample-size. Indiana then automatically extracts samples of the specified size.

The algorithm for extracting types from a given sample of the corpus is as follows: first, each extracted word is normalized. This means that if the word begins with any of the characters in (1) the character is removed from the beginning of the word. Similarly, any trailing special characters from (2), which includes ellipsis in addition to the characters in (1), in the word are removed.

(1) = + _ " ' , . ; ? ! | : / \ < > [] { } () ! @ # \$ % ^ & *

(2) = + _ " , . ; ? ! | : / \ < > … [] { } () ! @ # \$ % ^ & *

To illustrate it, consider the following excerpt from the corpus:

I hate that word, if you don't hear what someone has said... do not say "What?". Use "Pardon?" or "Say again"... "What?" just sounds rude.
(B9)

Here, the initial tokens: *said...*, *"What?"*. and *again*"... are normalized as *said*, *What*, *again* respectively, before the text is analysed further. The normalization of tokens in the original text forms part of the HTML-to-text conversion stage.

Indiana has a simple and intuitive user-interface for adding new files, selecting the sample-size, edit sample features, and so on. The general user-interface is shown in Figure 6.2.

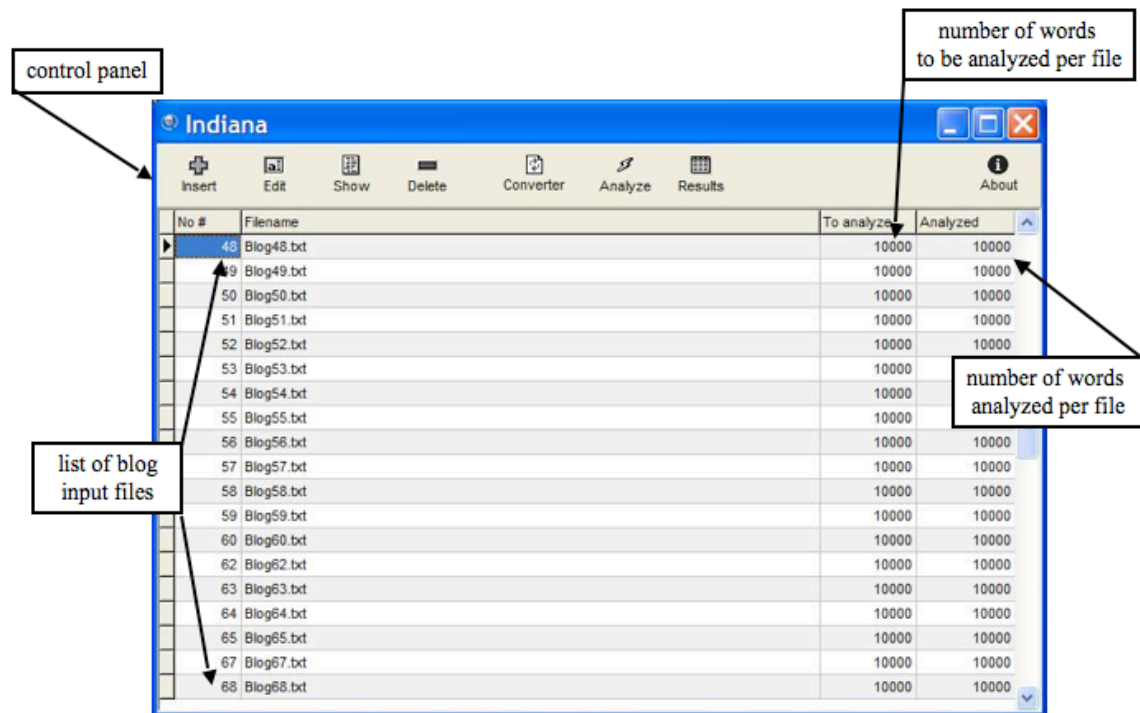


Figure 6.2: Indiana interface – general view

The control panel (Figure 6.3) contains options for adding new input blogs (Insert button), and converting them into text files (Converter button). The input blog URLs can also be deleted at any time (Delete button).



Figure 6.3: Indiana – control panel

With reference to Figure 6.3, the steps for transforming the input blog to a list of potential neologisms are as follows: the HTML content of the blog is first converted into plain text (Converter button). The plain text extracted from each

URL is appended to the database Text.d. This database contains all the blog-texts, and is used subsequently, whenever it is necessary to look at the context of a potential neologism. From the running text of each blog, a sorted list of N (N=10,000 here) tokens (words) is extracted, and appended to a second database, called Words.d. This database contains a sorted list of tokens extracted from each blog. When the Analyze button is clicked, Indiana commences analysis of every token in the Words.d database. Each token is first checked against a third database: Results.d. At any given moment this database consists of all the words that have already been processed. Additionally, this database also maintains three pieces of information for each token:

- the occurrence-frequency, defined as the number of times this word-type has been encountered in the corpus so far,
- the number of times this word-type appears in the British National Corpus (BNC), and
- the number of times this word-type appears in the *Merriam-Webster (M-W)* online dictionary.

If the token in question is already present in Results.d, the occurrence-frequency of the corresponding word-type is updated, and the token is not processed any further. If the token is not present in the Results.d database, it is then checked against two external reference sources:

1. the data of the BNC, and,
2. the *M-W*.

(The reasons for using these two external references are discussed in section 6.4) The process of checking tokens against these external reference sources is called *external filtering*. External filtering helps to filter out established words, which have already reached institutionalisation level. Specifically, if the token is present in the BNC, it is entered into the Results.d database, along with its frequency in the BNC. If the token is not present in the BNC, but exists in *M-W*, the token is entered into Results.d along with the number of corresponding entries in *M-W* (*M-W* may contain several entries for a given word). If neither reference source contains the token being processed, it is entered into the Results.d with both BNC frequency and *M-W* frequency set to 0.

Indiana provides an internal filter to select all tokens that have both BNC frequency and *M-W* frequency set to 0. Such tokens are considered to be potential neologisms. Figure 6.4 illustrates a fragment of the results after external filtering,

and the internal filter used for selecting potential neologisms. Each potential neologism is processed manually to determine whether it is truly a neologism.

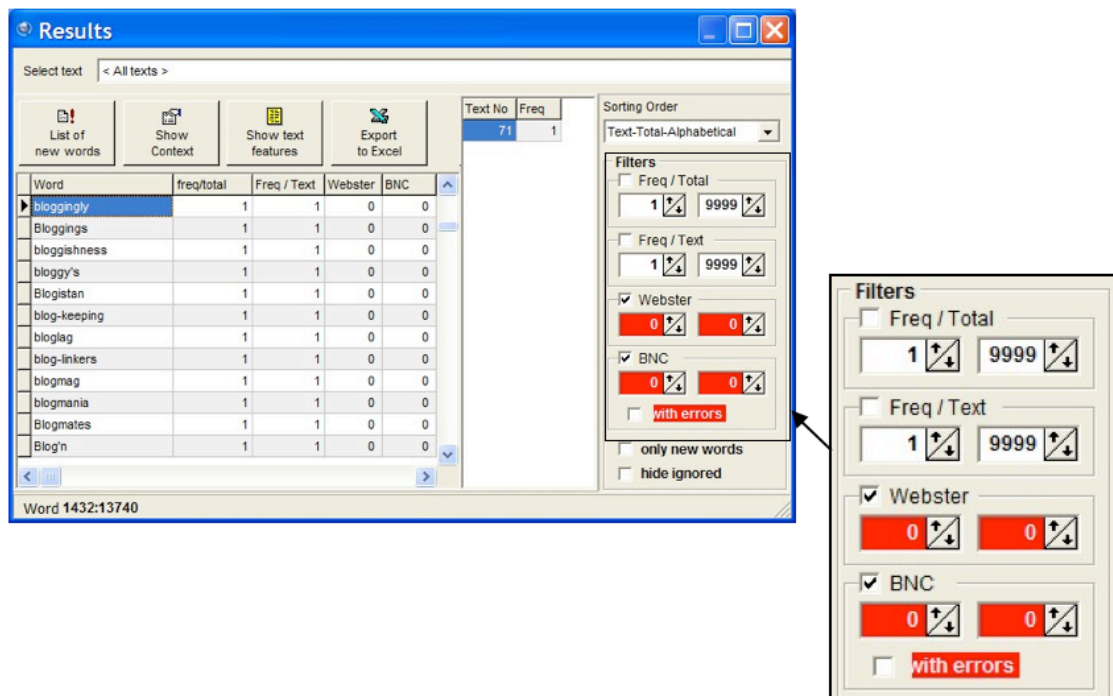


Figure 6.4: Indiana – internal filters for extracting potential neologisms from the corpus

This kind of automated filtering fails in two situations.

- It is unable to identify the plethora of misspelled forms that exist in the corpus, and marks them as potential neologisms.
- Proper names, saxon genitives, plurals and so on, as well as short passages in languages other than English which are not cases of borrowing but rather code switching, are also identified as potential neologisms.

All these can only be filtered out manually.

The general results interface of Indiana is shown in Figure 6.5. Among other things, this interface allows the user to visualise the list of potential neologisms extracted from the corpus, and also to look at the context in which a given token appears, in all the blogs making up the corpus. The interface also allows the user to mark any token as 'ignored'. This prevents the token from being considered as a potential neologism. These features are useful in the manual filtering stage.

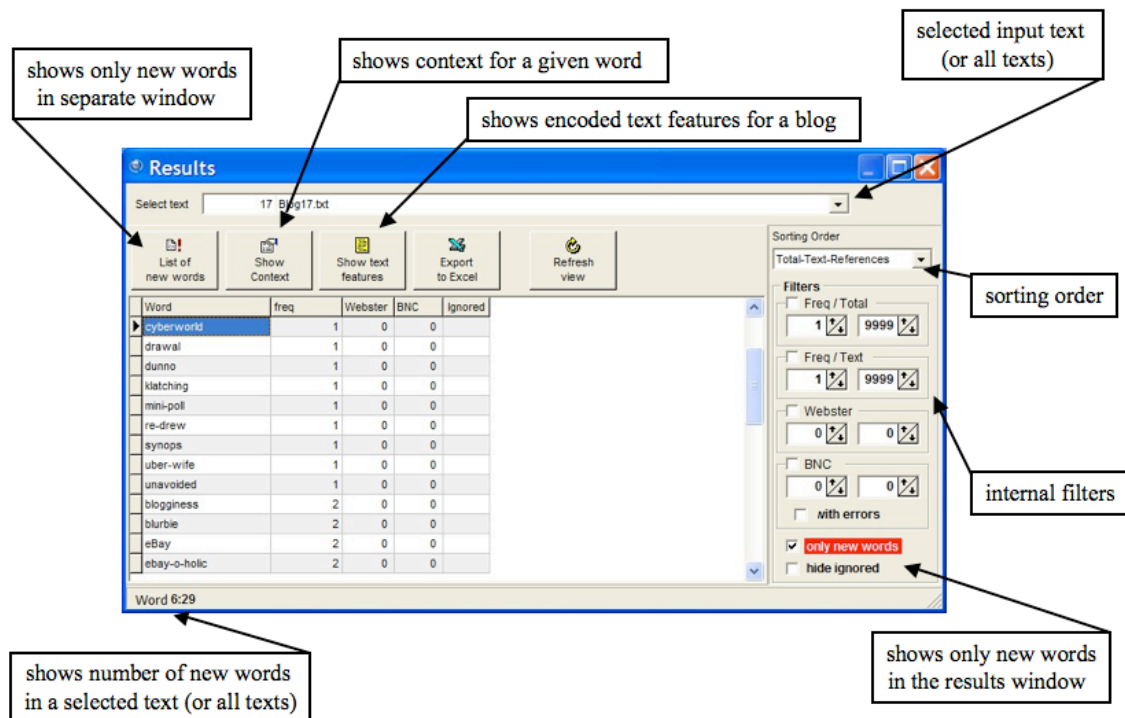


Figure 6.5: Indiana – results panel

Manual filtering is the process of manually checking each potential neologism identified by Indiana, to determine whether it is truly a neologism. This filtering proceeds in three steps.

1. First, all word-types classified as potential neologisms are checked for inflected forms and proper names. If the words in their base form are listed in the BNC and/or the *M-W online* they are removed from the list of potential neologisms by being marked as ignored.
2. The resulting list of remaining potential neologisms is then checked for misspelled forms. In order to verify if this is a case of misspelling or rather a new formation, words are checked in context. The misspelled forms are also marked as ignored, so as to remove them from the set of potential neologisms.
3. Finally, every word-type in the remaining list is verified in two ways:
 - Each blog-context of the word-type is checked in the corpus. If the context is sufficient to understand the novel formation, the word is added to the list of neologisms, otherwise
 - the word-type is checked on the Web in general, to see if it has been used elsewhere and to verify its context in other web-pages.

The purpose of checking the context is first of all to verify that the word is not a case of overlooked misspelling or a proper name that was not evident in steps 1

and 2. Moreover, since these are words I am not familiar with, I have to find out as much as possible about each one of them from its usage in context, before I can classify it as an Indiana neologism (or an ignored item).

Words that remain after the three steps of manual filtering can be qualified as new. These are marked as such and stored in a separate list. This list is considered a list of neologisms in my corpus of blogs.

Indiana also includes a variety of other filters which enable not only a quick extraction of potentially new words but also offer information on type/token frequency, distribution across the input files, and an easy view of the word in context. Additionally, information about every individual text file, such as blog structure, information about the author, information about blog type, entry features, statistics and other general information, is encoded. These categories reflect the discussion on blogs from chapter 5. Thus, for example, the ‘Entry Features’ of a blog-entry may store information on the use of smileys/emoticons, hypertext links in the entries, as well as acronyms or non-standard spelling, and so on.

After the automated and manual filtering stages, I have a list of new formations, with context information about their use, and information about the blogger.

6.4 Methodological considerations

CMC is an ideal source of data for morpho-lexical research. With the plethora of CMC data, and the associated contextual and author information, we can finally look at previously unavailable stages of word development, to trace the spread and institutionalisation of a word.

As far as methodology is concerned, for such a small corpus the existing methods of automated selection of neologisms, such as hapax legomena, diachronic comparison of the word lists, type-token ratios (see section 3.8) are not applicable. For example, looking for hapax legomena in a one million-word corpus is not a sensible approach. In my corpus nearly 50 percent of the word types occur only once. Fischer (1989), discussing the similar-sized Brown and LOB corpora, reaches a similar conclusion. He points out that searching for word forms that occur only once, what he terms “hapax phenomena”, will return lots of hits, as, in a

small corpus hapaxes have high frequency. For example, he notes that there are approximately 22,000 hapaxes in the Brown corpus. He concludes that for lexical investigation of neologisms the Brown and LOB corpora are of insufficient size. Moreover, he claims that words that are rare will possibly go unrecorded in such a corpus. Consequently, Fischer (1989: 83) postulates that “Very large corpora are thus not only desirable, but imperative for any type of lexical research.”

I agree with Fischer that looking for hapaxes in such a small corpus is not particularly useful. I disagree, however, with his implication that small corpora are entirely unsuitable for lexical research. I believe that small corpora can also be useful in lexical studies, but the corpus type and the tools for analysis have to be suitably modified. Brown and LOB are general corpora, which contain samples from over 15 text categories. In total, 500 text samples of approximately 2000 words per sample comprise each corpus (Francis and Kucera 1979, Johansson et al. 1986). Small corpora can be used for lexical studies, if they are specialized, rather than general corpora. My collection of blogs is an example of such a specialized corpus. As previously mentioned, it also contains approximately one million words, but all samples come from one text type. Moreover, each text sample here is considerably larger than those used in the Brown or the LOB corpus, and usually contains 10,000 words.

In this work, I am also proposing a new range of tools to overcome the shortcomings of the hapax legomena analysis for a small corpus. I suggest analysing word-types, rather than tokens occurring only once. (In cases when a type has only one token in the corpus this boils down to classical hapax legomena analysis). This enables us to observe neologisms that are used more than once (by only one or several bloggers) but are not cases of established, attested words. It also makes the observation of the dissemination of novel formations possible.

In this context, I have studied two quantities, namely, ‘occurrence frequency’ and ‘sample frequency’. The occurrence frequency of a type refers to how many tokens of the type occur in the entire corpus. The sample frequency of a type denotes the distribution of a particular type across various samples (here, blogs). For example, if, in the corpus, a given type occurs 20 times in blog B_x , and 30 times in blog B_y , then its occurrence frequency is 50, and its sample frequency is 2.

My hypothesis is that the lower the sample frequency of a word, the higher the probability that the word represents a nonce-formation or is in the early stages in its life cycle. Conversely, the higher the sample frequency is, the higher is the spread and the probability of institutionalisation of the corresponding word. The combination of occurrence frequency and sample frequency gives us cues about the degree of institutionalisation. If, for a given neologism, both values are high, this points to a stronger potential for institutionalisation of the type, whereas high occurrence frequency combined with low sample frequency often indicates that the neologism in question is an example of a highly specialized formation (restricted by jargon, register, etc.) or that it is an element of the idiolect of the blogger.

In this work, corpus-analysis methods and lexicographic methods are combined. As described in section 6.3, the status of words from my corpus are validated using two external references, namely, the BNC and the *Merriam-Webster (M-W) online*. These two sources have been selected as they match most of the required criteria. The BNC is used as the primary reference in this work, whereas the *M-W online* dictionary serves as a secondary reference.

The BNC is a monolingual, synchronic and general corpus of modern British English from the late 20th century (see also section 3.8.2). It contains 100 million words collected up to 1993 from a wide range of sources and aims at representing a cross-section of the language. It is a static corpus, that is, no new data has been added since the completion of the project in 1994. As I am interested in the lexical enrichment that has occurred in the past decade or so, the BNC appears to be a useful reference for comparative study. Moreover, the BNC also contains various inflected forms, such as past tense, Saxon genitives, and plurals, as well as proper names and so on. The presence of actual tokens rather than lexemes in the reference data is very important because, for my corpus, not only hapaxes, but in fact, all words are checked against the external reference source.

One reason for using BNC as the primary reference is to compare my data with as authentic a language use as possible. Texts in this corpus meet this criterion. Language data in the BNC contains various styles, rare words and so on, and as far as authenticity is concerned, the texts used in this corpus were produced for communicative not corpus purposes.

I still needed an additional, second reference to account for alternative spelling variants, often American English, that can be frequently found in CMC

and therefore presumably also in blogs. Therefore I decided to use the *Merriam-Webster online* dictionary for this purpose. This was the best available option at the time of the research. Initially, I intended to use the American equivalent of the BNC, the American National Corpus (ANC) as a secondary reference source. Unfortunately, this corpus is still in the process of compilation. Also, it covers a different time-period (1990 onwards) than the BNC, which makes comparison difficult.

The *Merriam-Webster online* dictionary is based on the print version of the *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. The *M-W online* has been available since 1996 and, at the time of data-analysis, it was based on the tenth edition of the *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1998). The fact that the *M-W* is not a static database, (there are small annual updates) does not have any impact on my analysis, for two reasons. First of all, the *M-W online* has been used only as a secondary reference. Secondly, Indiana maintains a database of words already found in any of the external references. When Indiana comes upon a word that is already in the database, the word is not processed any further. Therefore even if a word becomes institutionalised in the meantime, this does not skew the results generated by Indiana. (This is, for example, the case with the word *blog* itself, as we will see later, when I discuss specific results.) Therefore, the major update to the *M-W online* triggered by the publication of the eleventh Collegiate Dictionary in late 2003, which forms the basis of the current version of the *M-W online*, did not affect my analysis.

One significant drawback of using Indiana, and indeed several other computerized tools, to discover neologisms, is its inability to identify neologisms that are results of semantic change and abbreviations. Semantic neologisms can sometimes be identified if they serve as input to further processes and are therefore marked by inflectional affixes that the word in the original meaning does not combine with. Consider the noun *text*. In the past decade it has also been used in a narrow sense of short message transmitted from one mobile phone to another. In this narrow sense it has also been converted to a verb and is used with, for example, the past tense inflectional morpheme *-ed*. This is illustrated by the examples in (3) and (4):

- (3) I texted a final farewell to a friend just in case, and proceeded inside. (B22)
- (4) The British injury claims firm..announced to more than 2,000 of its workers that they were going to be sacked by sending texts to their company mobile phones. (*OED online*)

Abbreviations pose a more serious problem. As we have seen in chapter 2, abbreviations have been a popular word-building process in recent decades. (The 38th edition of *Acronyms, Initialisms & Abbreviations Dictionary* (2007) contains more than 885,000 abbreviations used in the English language). Since an abbreviation is often a combination of two or more letters, with abbreviations of two, three and four letters being particularly common, one abbreviation may, and usually does, stand for several unabbreviated forms. This can be illustrated by the acronym *ES*. According to the Acronym Finder (www.acronymfinder.com), *ES* stands for 126 different meanings distributed in various categories including “Science & Medicine” and “Business & Finance”. The meanings range from ‘Elementary School’, ‘Environmental Science’ and ‘Electronic Surveillance’ to ‘Employment Service’ and ‘Embryonic Stem’. What this means for computerized word verification tools is that even if the abbreviation is new, the graphically similar form will most probably already be listed in the BNC and *M-W*. Consequently, the external reference sources will mark the new abbreviation as attested, thus affecting the general quantitative results.

Given the problems of dealing with acronyms and conversions, a quantitative morphological discussion, that is, statistics of word-building patterns, and their frequencies, would be inappropriate. Therefore, in this project, the quantitative results will be analysed only in terms of general findings. Morphological findings will only be considered from a qualitative perspective.

6.5 Definition of “neologism” in this project

In the context of this project, a novel formation is a word-type that does not occur in the material from the BNC corpus and is not found in the *M-W online*. This, of course, means that the words classified as novel formations by Indiana might simply be infrequent words, or at least not frequent enough to make their way into the large BNC corpus or the dictionary, at the time of the analysis. Yet, as observed by Kjellmer (2000: 207), “[w]hen a new word emerges and becomes

accepted as part of the common word-stock, it is frequently the case that it has previously existed in some remote corner of the language (...) Still, it is a “new word” to the public at large”.

This approach also corresponds to the definition of neologism, which bridges both lexicographic and linguistic approaches, as suggested in chapter 3.2.2. For corpus and indeed computational studies the tentative definition offered by Fischer (1998) that I have adopted in chapter 3 has to be slightly modified. She said that (1998: 3) “a neologism is a word which has lost its status of a nonce-formation but is still one which is considered new by the majority of the members of a speech community.” When using Indiana, a neologism is defined as a word, or formative, that encompasses spreads on the cline from nonce-formation to the pre-institutionalisation stage (institutionalisation being defined as being listed in the BNC or the *M-W online*).

Additionally, a neologism, according to the definition used in Indiana, is a word that has been filtered and classified as new regardless of its authorship. This means that the information about the blog’s author, which is recorded for each sample, does not indicate that a particular blogger actually coined the term in question. All neologisms are generally perceived as being used, rather than as being coined, by a blogger. The only exception is the situation when a blogger (explicitly or implicitly) admits to creating a word. Still, as we have seen in chapter 3.3, authorship is a generally untraceable notion and it is not uncommon for several coinages of the same word to take place independently of one another. Information about the author can only be important if it contributes to the understanding of the new formation, that is, if it gives some kind of etymological explanation or motivation behind the coinage.

6.6 General results

My corpus contains a total of 1,041,282 words, represented by 53,079 word-types, including those that were considered as syntax errors by the BNC. For example, when a word-type contains a letter with a diacritic, as the French *é* in *café*, or “TM” in superscript, the common law designation for trade-mark, as in *BaronsTM*, the BNC perceives such characters as syntax errors in the query (see Figure 6.6), and is therefore not able to process the query. Such errors constitute approximately

1.4% of the word-types in the corpus. Word-types thus rejected have also been checked manually, to make sure that no neologism escapes analysis in this way. Only one word, namely *übercouple* (B88), was retrieved back from the list of errors and classified as a neologism. All other entries marked as errors were deleted with the help of an internal Indiana filter.

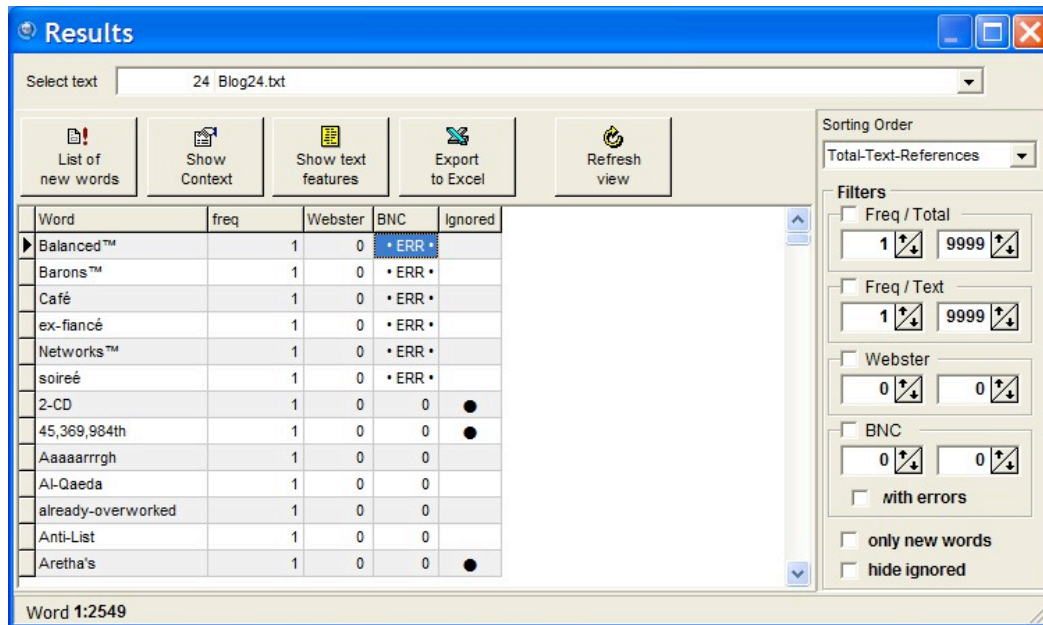


Figure 6.6: Indiana – BNC query input errors

In the corpus, 26,052 types occur only once, that is, they are represented by only one token. If we look at the sample frequency, 29,739 types occur in only one blog file.

If we disregard the four blog samples that contribute fewer than 10,000 input words, in the remaining, equal-sized, 101 samples the number of word-types per sample varies from 1015 (in B39) to as many as 3536 (in B108). This range of variation can be attributed mainly to the structure of each blog, which varies from author to author. In this project the analysed blog sites are considered from a broad perspective (see chapter 5.4). All elements included in an individual blog page are analysed. Therefore, if a blogger includes recurring elements in the sidebar or main body, such as long blogroll lists or other repeated text in the main entry, together with very short entry posts, the number of types per sample will consequently be very low (and consequently, the number of tokens per type will be high). If, on the other hand the post entries are long and the sidebar elements are minimal, the frequency of different types will be greater. The number of types in B39 (1015)

and B108 (3536) are extreme values. For the majority of blogs the number of types is more uniform, with a median value of 2379 types per sample.

After excluding the erroneous types from further analysis, the list of remaining potential neologisms contains 13,740 types (that do not occur in either of the external reference sources). When sorted alphabetically, the first 585 examples are cases of a combination of a number and a letter/letters such as *9.27am*, *9...smart*, *999'd* and so on. These types are also filtered out manually (as explained in section 6.4).

In the first step of manual filtering, the 13,740 types were checked for the obvious cases of plurals, Saxon genitives and other inflected variants of base forms present in either the BNC or the *M-W online*. Such types were removed from the list. Additionally, types that represented proper names, email addresses, web-page addresses and so on were also excluded from further processing. Examples (5) - (10) illustrate some of the types removed in this way.

- (5) Arjun - Arjun's
The fire arrow, the ice arrow, the arrow of Vishnu, the arrow of snakes ... and between them, great armies fell, and Krishna smiled, as he led Arjun's chariot across the victorious battlefield. (B76)
- (6) around...hopefully
There has to be a work around...hopefully I'll find it. (B71)
- (7) ContactThursday
About | Archives | ContactThursday, October 28, 2004 (B80)
- (8) doesn't...it
It doesn't...it doesn't yet move me. (B77)
- (9) door's
But then again, it's all the door's fault. (B58)
- (10) conferences--a
A more diverse audience than some conferences--a mix of East Coast media and PR folks, West Coast media, technology, and social media masters (B6)

In the second step the list of remaining types was manually processed again. This time every word-type was checked in the blog context. Many words turned out to be various cases of spelling mistakes, multiple letters serving orality functions as well as, especially in case of compounds and phrases, words which were not recognized by the BNC or the *M-W online* due to different writing conventions not recorded in these reference sources, such as the presence or

absence of a hyphen or words written together instead of separately or vice versa (see also chapter 7). Selected examples of such cases are given in (11)- (16).

- (11) paper-journal
I've been feeling like I should type up some of my paper-journal entries (B88)
- (12) esecially
I'm always curious to learn about other cultures, esecially when it goes beyond staying for a few days as a tourist. (B41)
- (13) miliitary
My parents then asked if there were any other prints of this caliber and she proceded to show them a beagle in miliitary attire along with The Officer's Mess (my painting). (B40)
- (14) libarian
Now, I've been living in a world where Laura Bush is a nice, wholesome libarian, and only people like Ted Kennedy kill people. (B24)
- (15) replacemement
There are lots of things I need it to do before I could consider it a suitable replacemement for a decent fat mail client like Mozilla Mail. (B28)
- (16) pleeeeeeease
Pleeeeeeease? Someone shoot me. (B78)

In the third step of manual verification, words that were not filtered out in the previous steps were closely examined in context again. As the contextual information was sometimes insufficient they were also looked up on other Web resources (search-engines, and online references for new words) discussed in chapter 3.5.2 specifically. Each word-type from the list that did not turn out to be a case of misspelling was then classified as a neologism in my blog corpus.

In section 6.7, I will discuss blog neologisms in terms of occurrence frequency and sample frequency of the neologisms identified in the corpus. I will also look at the correlation between the number of Internet-specific neologisms and the number of general neologisms in a blog-sample.

6.7 Quantitative results

The final list of neologisms extracted from the corpus contains 1196 word-types. Figure 6.7 plots, for all the blogs in the corpus, the number of new types

(neologisms) found in a blog-sample as a function of the total number of types observed in the blog-sample.

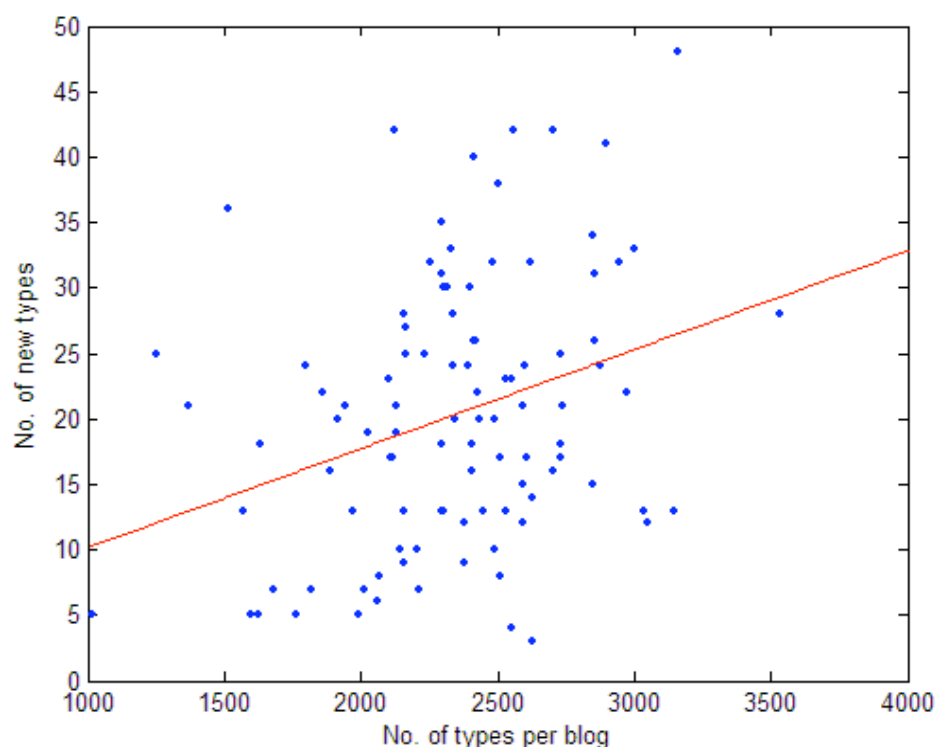


Figure 6.7: Correlation between all types and new types

Each dot in the plot corresponds to one blog-sample of the corpus. The distribution of the number of new types seems to be quite random, with respect to the total number of types in a given blog-sample. A linear fit of the data, shown by the straight-line in the figure, indicates, at most, a weak correlation between the two quantities. Even this may only be an artefact due to the small size of the corpus at hand.

6.7.1 Analysis based on sample frequency

As defined earlier, the sample frequency of a type gives the number of blog-samples in which the type appears. In my corpus, 1,067 types (89%) have a sample frequency of 1, that is, they each occur in only one blog. (In fact, of these, 926 types, approximately 77% of the neologisms found in the corpus, occur only once in the entire corpus). This indicates that a majority of neologisms in my corpus are still at the stage of nonce-formation or in the early stages of spread.

At the other end of the scale, 81 new types in my corpus have an occurrence frequency (the total number of times the corresponding tokens appear in the entire corpus) higher than five. That is, roughly 7 percent of all new types occur more than five times in the corpus. Considering the sample frequency, 43 types can be found in more than 5 files each (i.e., a sample frequency greater than 5). This indicates that only 3.5% of the new types are probably in the process of institutionalisation or have already been institutionalised. If we look at neologisms with a sample frequency greater than 10, we find that only 19 of the new types occur in more than ten blogs. Interestingly, 18 of these types are, generally speaking, Internet related words. The only exception in my corpus is *dunno*, a colloquial form of ‘I don't know’. Table 6.1 lists the 19 neologisms with the highest sample frequencies in the corpus. The corresponding occurrence frequencies are also quoted.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Sample Frequency</i>	<i>Occurrence Frequency</i>
blog	85	1671
blogs	63	462
blogging	63	411
google	50	260
weblog	47	400
blogger	41	178
bloggers	29	178
trackback	26	1075
RSS	26	276
weblogs	23	258
permalink	19	776
IM	18	123
iPod	16	66
eBay	16	48
blogroll	16	34
blogosphere	14	37
dunno	14	27
wiki	13	124
inbox	13	22

Table 6.1: Sample frequency for most common types

Understandably, the word-type *Blog* has the highest sample frequency. It is found in 85 samples in the corpus. At first glance this may seem obvious. After all, it is not surprising to find the term *blog* in a blog. In fact, we would expect it to appear in every blog. One intuitive explanation of the high sample frequency of *blog* is that the term is very likely to be part of the pre-designed elements in the

blog layout, such as a signature: “blog written by XYZ”, title: “XYZ’s blog”, or even part of the sidebar elements. I have verified that this is not the case in my corpus. I checked all the text samples in which the term *blog* appears, and in every case it was found in the blog-entry sections. Moreover, in 20 samples (19% of the total text samples) *blog* is not used even once, a fact that runs counter to intuition.

We should also be a bit cautious about the sample frequency of two other neologisms found in the corpus: *IM* and *RSS*. In section 6.4, I have discussed the problems with automated disambiguation of abbreviations. *IM* and *RSS* are typical cases in question. In the corpus, *IM* is used in 18 different blog samples. However, does it always stand for the commonly known unabbreviated input, *Instant Messaging*? I checked every occurrence of *IM* in each of the 18 samples that were identified as containing this alphabetism (B4, B10, B13, B25, B28, B29, B41, B44, B51, B52, B57, B76, B77, B82, B84, B87, B94 and B109). As we can see in excerpts (17) - (25) listed below, only in nine samples was *IM* used to mean ‘Instant Messaging’. In samples B4, B10, B51, B52, B57, B77, B82, B84 and B87, *IM* was used as an alternative colloquial spelling for ‘I’m’, as in *im in a better mood* (B84).

- (17) last IM: Kara (B13)
- (18) I wonder if anyone wants to bug me in realtime? If you do, try ICQ 126829884. Or AOL IM tvswilwheaton. (B25)
- (19) I’ve heard via IM/email from a couple of ex-colleagues this week which was nice. (B28)
- (20) So I got up around noon today, and logged on to IM. (B29)
- (21) Email, IM, Skype should work unless something strange happens. (B41)
- (22) The goal is not to amass as many "friends" as possible, unlike Friendster, Orkut, and others. It's about making it easier to share stuff with people who really are you friends--tne ones you already talk to, email, IM, etc. (B44)
- (23) I got back into the Instant Messenger thing by getting the hotmail id jack_kerouac_lives - after leaving IM from placement at BT, where it took up (at minimum) two hours a day of totally hilarious banter. (B76)
- (24) The Zipit kids' IM appliance is hackable (B94)
- (25) Most of these purchases were inspired by an IM session with Rick. (B109)

For the second example, *RSS*, all 276 occurrences in 26 samples refer to ‘Really Simple Syndication’. This uniformity is not triggered by the lack of alternative meanings for this abbreviation. In fact, acronymfinder.com lists 95 different expansions for *RSS*. The most likely explanation for this homogeneity of the meaning of *RSS* in the corpus is that *RSS* is a Web-publishing format, originally created to access frequently updated blogs automatically. Nowadays, it is also used by online newspapers and other dynamic websites. Since it was created to facilitate access to blog websites, it is not surprising that it is found in the context of blogs.

The final example of a high sample frequency neologism in the corpus is *dunno*. The fact that it has been identified as a potential neologism by Indiana is somewhat surprising. After all, *dunno* is a fairly common word. The *OED Online* quotes the earliest use of *dunno* from 1842. Its absence in both the BNC and the *M-W online* can be explained by the fact that it is mainly a spoken colloquialism. However, as we have seen in chapter 4, communication on the Internet, including blogs, challenges and redefines the traditional register distinction into spoken and written. CMC introduces ample colloquialisms, previously reserved for the spoken variety, into written communication. Therefore, although there is no example of *dunno* in the BNC (although the BNC does contain a spoken component) or the *M-W online*, a simple Web search returns almost five million hits for the term.

6.7.2 Analysis based on occurrence frequency

Let us now look at the occurrence frequency of the identified neologisms, which is defined as the total number of times the word-type appears in the corpus (regardless of the number of blog-samples in which it appears). Approximately 4.4% (52) of the new types appear in the corpus more than ten times. Slightly over 1% (13) of the identified neologisms have an occurrence frequency greater than 100. The occurrence frequencies of the most common neologisms found in the corpus are listed in Table 6.2.

Comparing Table 6.1 with Table 6.2, we see that the types with high occurrence frequency also have high sample frequency. We also see that such types denote generally Internet-related, and often specifically blog-related, concepts. As noted above, the term *blog* has the highest occurrence frequency. It

occurs 1617 times in the entire corpus. In terms of occurrence frequency, the next two most common neologisms in the corpus are *trackback*, with 1075 occurrences, followed by *permalink*, found 776 times in the corpus. The high occurrence frequencies of *trackback* and *permalink* are explained by the functions of these words as anchors of hyperlinks, which are often used in sub-headers and meta-references.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Occurrence Frequency</i>	<i>Distribution Frequency</i>
blog	1671	85
trackback	1075	26
permalink	776	19
blogs	462	63
blogging	411	63
weblog	400	47
RSS	276	26
google	260	50
weblogs	258	23
blogger	178	41
bloggers	178	29
wiki	124	13
IM	123	18

Table 6.2: Occurrence frequencies of most common new types in the corpus

However, occurrence frequencies for the most frequent types should be treated with caution. As mentioned earlier, neologisms created through abbreviation, semantic shift, as well as cases of base-conversion and homonymy cannot always be reliably identified by Indiana. This is a common problem for many computerized tools. The corpus used in this work is untagged, which makes the automatic disambiguation very difficult. I decided to use an untagged corpus since numerous non-standard writing conventions found in my data, as illustrated earlier in (6), (7), (8), and (10), would not make tagging particularly useful in this case anyway. Even in tagged and established corpora, the corpus annotation and part of speech disambiguation are not error free. For example, in the BNC, the ambiguity rate for proper nouns is 16% and the overall precision of the automated tagging for the written component is approximately 96% (Leech and Smith 2000). For my untagged corpus, manual disambiguation would be necessary for each token of a given neologism. I have manually disambiguated some neologisms, which have low occurrence frequency. For types with high occurrence frequency, this task would require an unreasonable effort. For example, for the most frequent

neologism, *blog*, which is used in the corpus as both noun and a verb, this would mean checking each of the 1,617 instances, just to verify the reliability of the occurrence frequency.

6.7.3 Frequency of Internet-specific neologisms

When we analyse the distribution of new types in individual blog samples, we find that the use of neologisms varies from as little as 3 (in sample B32) to 49 in sample B77. In this corpus, the median value for neologisms in a blog-sample is 20.

One interesting question is whether there is any correlation between the number of neologisms per blog in general and the number of Internet-specific neologisms in the blog. By ‘Internet-specific’ I mean generally all new formations that refer to, or describe, the new digital reality. This includes, among others, all the types mentioned in Table 6.2. It also encompasses creative Internet writing strategies that were discussed in chapter 4.4.2, such as *t3h*, *ph33r*, *pr0n* (B87) which stand for *the*, *fear* and *porn* respectively. Additionally, coinages triggered by the impact that the new Internet reality has on life have also been included. Consider, for example, the abbreviation *NSFW* (B83), which stands for ‘not safe for work’ and is used to indicate that particular links or URLs have content that might be seen as objectionable (e.g., sexually explicit, vulgar or politically incorrect). For each blog sample, I calculated the number of Internet-specific novel formations and compared this with the total number of neologism found in the blog. The results are graphically presented in Figure 6.8. In my corpus there appears to be a clear correlation between the two values.

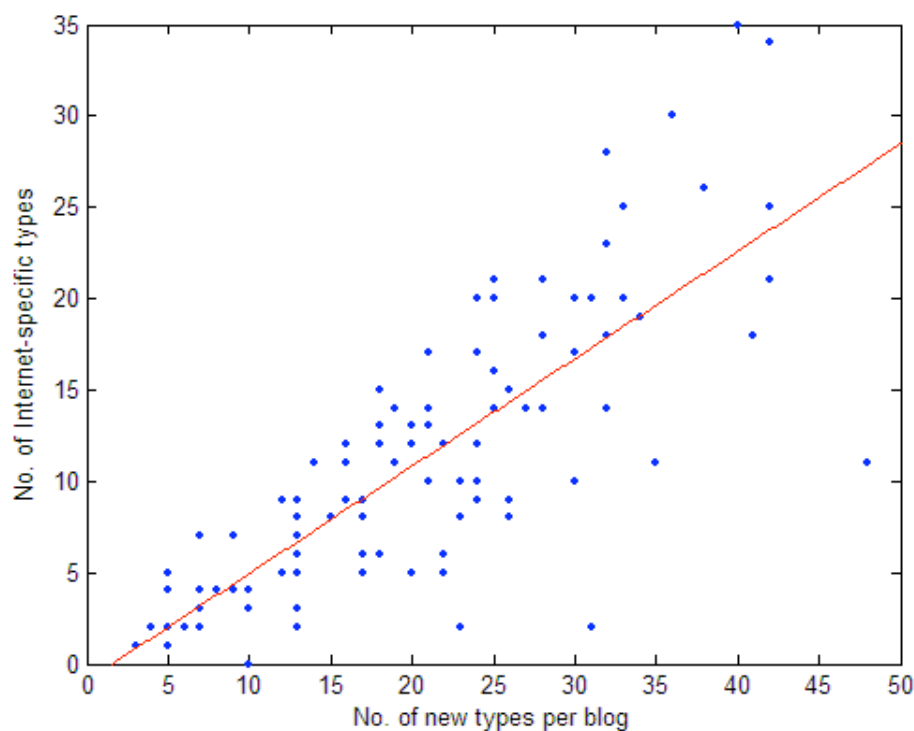


Figure 6.8: Internet-specific neologisms vs. the total number of neologisms in a blog-sample

In the next section I will discuss various qualitative results.

6.8 Qualitative results

Chapter 2 introduced established methods of lexical extension. In this section I provide a qualitative analysis of the neologisms at hand, based on the patterns discussed in Chapter 2. For ease of reference the order of discussion is the same as in Chapter 2. For each category, where available, arbitrarily selected examples of Internet-specific and general novel formations are presented. (Appendix contains a complete list of novel formations discovered in the corpus at hand). Most processes discussed in Chapter 2 are represented in my corpus. However, there are also cases of new formations that escape traditional classification. These are discussed in section 6.8.5.

In several cases the analysis would not be possible without the use of additional reference sources. For etymological information the regular quarterly updates of the *OED Online* proved particularly helpful. I have also often referred to other online sources of information on neologisms, most notably, *Urban*

Dictionary, Double-Tongued Dictionary, World Wide Words. I have also used other Web pages for more contextual information about certain neologisms. This is particularly true about coinage neologisms, which, by definition, are created *ex nihilo*.

6.8.1 Coinage neologisms

Coinage neologisms are creations that should be morphologically unmotivated. This makes identifying coinage neologisms very difficult. Consider *blern* as illustrated in example (26). The fact that the word is repeated several times suggests that it is not an error in typography. Yet, the context does not allow for any interpretation of what a *blern* is, apart from the fact that it functions as a noun and possibly an adjective in the computer gaming world. *Blern* appeared in only one blog in my corpus and the search for it in other web-resources was also fruitless. It might even be a made-up word that is not supposed to mean anything specific.

- (26) Fry: Hey, I'm startin' to get the hang of this game. The blerns are loaded. The count's three blerns and two anti-blerns, and the infield blern rule is in effect. Right? (B29)

Many of the coinage neologisms I found in my corpus are, however, examples of onomatopoeic, or partly onomatopoeic formations such as *bling bling* (27), (28) and *ka-ching* (29).

- (27) As we waited for our lunch to arrive, the bling bling of all bling bling Hummers drove into the spot exactly in front of our window. (B40)
- (28) that doesn't stop you from jumping on the bling bandwagon every now and then. (B108)
- (29) About fifteen minutes later (that's \$32.50 – ka-ching!), she put aside her stainless steel hook for a moment and remarked, conversationally, "You know why your gums don't bleed?" (B85)

Bling bling and *ka-ching* both have their origins in slang and are now spreading to the general language. *Bling bling* (also *bling*) is used as an uncountable noun in (27) and an adjective in (28). *Bling (bling)* refers to ostentatious jewellery, or expensive and ostentatious possessions in general. MTV.com (April 30, 2003) traces the origin of *bling bling* to the rap and hip-hop

culture. It “was coined by New Orleans rap family Cash Money Millionaires back in the late '90s and started gaining national awareness with a song titled "Bling Bling" by Cash Money artist BG.” According to *Urban Dictionary*, *ka-ching* is an onomatopoeic formation imitating the sound made by an old-fashioned cash register when its cash drawer slides open. In example (29) it seems to function as an interjection.

Finally, the etymology of some words is largely disputable. Consider *chav* (30) and *gank* (31) from my corpus.

(30) How much of a Chav am I??? (B108)

(31) Be rather picky. Its easy to tell if some clients will gank a lot of your time yet hassle you when it comes down to the line for payments. ps - I'll have a "Health" folder up in the nav menu soon with links of mirrored websites I ganked all the information I used for this little blog. (B74)

The *OED Online*, in the draft entry from June 2006, gives two possible definitions of *chav*:

- a shortening of Romani word for unmarried Romani man {*chacek*}*havo*, or,
- a colloquial shortening of Chatham, a town in Kent (UK), where the term is believed to have originated.

Quinion, who discusses the term on www.worldwidewords.org (March 13, 2004) says that “Chav is almost certainly from the Romany word for a child, *chavi*, recorded from the middle of the nineteenth century.” In both cases *chav* is used as a pejorative term. In blog-sample B108, *Chav* is used as a noun and refers to a young person of lower social status, characterised by brash and loutish behaviour and the wearing of designer clothes (esp. sportswear). The second edition of the *Macmillan English Dictionary* (2007) (MED) has included *chav* in its list of entries. *MED* defines *chav* as a British, informal, offensive term referring to “someone, especially a working-class person, who is not well educated, who dresses in DESIGNER clothes and wears a lot of gold jewellery but whose appearance shows bad taste.”

In *Double-Tongued Dictionary*, *gank* is classified as an American English term, which comes from the slang vocabulary of the crime and narcotics domain, where it means “to rob, rip off, or con”. In my blog-sample B74, *gank* is also used

as a verb, but in the more general sense of ‘use without permission’. Clients who “gank a lot of your time” use up a lot of your time, and when you *gank* a piece of information, you use without permission. *Urban Dictionary* suggests that the term might be a blend of *grab* and *yank*.

6.8.2 Borrowing neologisms

In my data, examples of both structural and lexical borrowings can be found. The specific example of structural borrowing represented by the new derivational pattern of *uber-* prefixation, will be presented in chapter 7. In this section, I will discuss six examples of lexical borrowing: *borettslag* (32), *Butoh* (33), *thali* (34), *bevoir(s)* (35), *Bozhe moy* (36), and *arriere-garde* (37).

- (32) I live in a housing corporation, a *borettslag*, with about a hundred households and a board and a caretaker and concerned neighbours who once I got past thinking them busybodies turn out to be caring, helpful and supportive. (B54)
- (33) The first two days were devoted to *Butoh*, which is a modern Japanese dance created by Tatsumi Hijikata. (B104)
- (34) Towards the evening, I had a *thali* with people (yes, a vegetarian one) good enough to pass at a Gujarati restaurant! (B76)
- (35) Now it's Christmas Eve me and all my old mates from school are going down to my local for a few *bevoirs* and our ritual carry on before Santa comes. (B33)
- (36) Or is 62.5% the highest percentage of librarians whose priorities were students, and those librarians were law librarians? And are students not users? *Bozhe moy*... (B88)
- (37) Also another sameoldsameold article from the *arriere-garde* New York Times about how there are not a lot of women in the games industry (B55)

The borrowings illustrated in (32) - (37) vary in their degrees of nativisation. While *Borettslag*, *Butoh* and *thali* are examples of adopted borrowings, *bevoir(s)* and *Bozhe moy* represent adapted words. *Arriere-garde*, which looks like a direct borrowing from French, in fact, escapes traditional classification. I have not found any examples of loan translations. Let us look at the individual words in greater detail.

Borettslag and *Butoh* are examples of cultural borrowing. *Borettslag* is a Norwegian term for a kind of housing cooperative in which people who live in the

cooperative also own part of the company. *Butoh* is an avant-garde dance or performance art originating in Japan. Interestingly, both words are explained in the text by the respective bloggers, possibly reflecting their expectations that their readers would be unfamiliar with these borrowed items.

Thali is also an example of cultural borrowing. It comes from Hindi and, in its original meaning, denotes a metal plate on which food is served. In my example the meaning has been extended to refer to a meal composed of several items served on a single (usually metal) plate. This might be explained by the common practice in Indian restaurants, both domestic and outside India, to use the term in reference to the complete meal rather than the physical plate itself.

Bevoir is an example of urban slang, and means an alcoholic drink. *Bevoir* is probably a result of a playful formation. It might be based on *bevy*, a slang term for a drink (usually a beer) which is clipped from *beverage*, combined with a French-looking suffix *-oir*.

Bozhe moy is a borrowing from Slavic and means ‘my god’. This phrase is mainly used as an interjection. It is difficult to verify which Slavic language this phrase has been borrowed from, as the spelling has been adapted to generate roughly correct pronunciation by English speakers. It may have come from Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian or Polish.

Arriere-garde looks like a direct borrowing from French, with the slight modification of the diacritic in the French word *arrière*. This term may also be interpreted as an analogous formation in English, the binary opposite to *avant-garde*. Web search results suggest that the term is used in poetry, architecture and, as in my corpus example, in the general sense to mean ‘non-modern or non-innovative’.

6.8.3 Semantic neologisms

Semantic neologisms, as already explained in section 6.4, cannot be identified using Indiana software. I have, however, come across one example that should, in my opinion, be classified as a semantic neologism, namely *guestbook* (38).

- (38) I really liked the music of Kate Cassidy. I went to her website, and after reading for a while I decided to write in her guestbook, just to let her know I really liked her music (B10)

Guestbook is traditionally defined as a visitor's book, that is, a book where visitors (guests or tourists) may leave their comments, thanks, and, usually, names and addresses. In example (38) *guestbook* is used in a narrower sense of a specific feature of a website or blog that enables readers to offer feedback to the website or to blog authors, by leaving comments anonymously.

6.8.4 Word-building neologisms

In my data, examples can be found of the use of every word-building mechanism available in the language. Apart from back-formation, of which only a single example was identified in my data, all other processes are well-represented. Selected cases of derivation, compounding, clipping, abbreviations, conversion and eponymy will be presented here. Often, several processes have been combined in the creation of a given lexical item. For ease of illustration only one process will be discussed at a time.

6.8.4.1 Derivation

A whole array of affixes is used to create new derivatives. They range from general productive affixes such as *non-* and *-er* to affixes more restricted in use (either semantically or morphologically) like *-ette*, and combining form, for example, *-gate*. Most of the resulting words are well motivated.

In terms of position of affixes both prefixes and suffixes are well represented. Additionally, there are also few examples of infixation.

Consider the following examples of prefixation by *anti-*, *non-*, *re-* and *cyber-*: *antihype* (39), *non-chain* (40), *re-explain* (41), and *cyberplace* (42).

- (39) Stowe Boyd has posted an interesting True Voice show about spreading blog antihype (B47)
- (40) back to this place, that seems like the last non-chain restaurant in Leeuwarden. (B52)
- (41) Now that we are home, have drunk our hot chocolate, and attempted to explain to them about a dog's body language (probably will need to re-explain that one often), everything is good. (B3)
- (42) This is...odd: Amazon.com has launched a gourmet food store. So now you can get your cookbooks, your dishes, and your dinner all in one cyberplace. I don't know, I don't quite trust mail-order meat... (B88)

The prefix *anti-* attaches to nouns to form nouns or adjectives and conveys the meaning of ‘opposite to, against’. In example (39) it combines with the noun *hype* to form *antihype*.

Non- expresses negation and can be attached to almost any adjective, deverbal substantives and noun substantives (Marchand 1969: 180). In example (40) it prefixes to a nominal compound *chain restaurant* to form *non-chain restaurant*, that is, a restaurant that is not part of a restaurant franchise such as McDonalds.

The prefix *re-* forms verbs with the connotation ‘anew, again’. It is the most productive verb-forming derivational prefix in English (Biber et al. 1999: 400). It freely attaches to transitive verbs such as *explain* to form a regular derivative *re-explain* in example (41).

Cyber- is a more recent formation that is often categorized as a combining form (e.g., Fischer 1998: 141). According to the *OED Online*, *cyber-* attaches mainly to nouns, and forms “temporary and nonce-words, as cyberchondriac, cybercubicle, cyberfeminist, cyberfriend, cybernocracy, cybersnob”. The earliest quotation in the *OED Online*, *cybernocracy*, comes from 1966. However, it started gaining wide usage only in the 1990s. *Cyber-* comes from a clipped form of *cybernetic* and forms words that refer to computers or, more generally, the Internet, as in (42) where it refers to the new gourmet food store launched by the Internet store Amazon.

Suffixation is represented in my selection by *-ation*, *-less*, *-er*, *-ette*, *-esque*, *-gate* and *-speak* in *alienization* (43), *apartment-less* (44), *LJer* (45), *dudette* (46), *Clintonesque* (47), *Abdulgate* (48) and *hollywoodspeak* (49). This group includes derivational suffixes that create nouns: *-(a)tion*, *-er*, *-ette*, and *-gate*, and adjective deriving affixes: *-less* and *-esque*. Verbal suffixes are not represented in these examples.

- (43) Knut Lundby is one of those people who will greet you at a conference and make you feel noticed and recognized, no matter how busy he is, so that helped to reduce my alienization at ICA. (B48)
- (44) You know it's been a good week when... You arrive in New York apartment-less and with a big fat stress headache. You leave New York with a lease on an apartment and a big fat hangover. (B42)

- (45) Assuming that my perception is accurate, i'm pretty convinced that bloggers (note: not LJers or other journalers) are primarily straight white men. (B55)
- (46) Still, this is, after all, a coastal town and there are ample beaches to be found, quite lovely ones even with world-famous bridges overhanging them and the occasional naked person or very attractive surfer dude/dudette/sexual persuasion of choice (B111)
- (47) All I can say is we had better be taking advantage of time by getting our forces in place, not doing the Clintonesque put-it-off-as-long-as-possible shillyshallying. (B64)
- (48) Furthermore, it has tasty and informative introductory essays on "Inside Baseball," "The -Gate to Scandal" (which ends with a list of dozens of such formations, from Abdulgate to Zippergate), (B97)
- (49) So I went from my first audition (Where I kicked ass, thank you very much- I'm told that I'm "in the mix" which is hollywoodspeak for "we're considering you (B25)

The suffixes *-tion* and *-er* are very productive in forming new nouns. The suffix *-tion*, also referred to as *-ation* by Marchand (1969), is the most frequent deverbal noun derivational suffix. Together with *-ness*, *-ity* and *-ism*, it forms a group of the most common derivational suffixes that derive abstract nouns (Marchand 1969: 259, Biber et al. 1999: 322). Typically, *-tion* creates abstract nouns from simple verbs or verbs derived in *-ify*, *-ize*, and *-ate* with the meaning 'action of X-ing'. Thus, *alienization* (43) is a regular and motivated formation with the meaning of 'action of alienizing'. Suffix *-er* usually attaches to verbs or nouns and forms derivatives with the meaning 'person who X-s' or the 'person concerned with X'. *LJer*, in example (45), is interesting. Here *-er* has been used to derive a noun from an abbreviation. (*LJ* is a common abbreviation for 'Live Journal', a popular free blogging service available on the Web).

The suffix *-less* functions as an adjectival suffix that forms derivatives with the meaning of 'without'. Hence, *apartment-less* in example (44) means 'without an apartment'. Biber et al. (1999: 531) observe that adjectives formed in *-less* "are relatively rare." Yet the *OED Online* states that, of late, its usage in the formation of nonce-words has become quite common. Indeed, words like *computerless*, *laptopless* and *Tvless* are other formations found quite often on websites.

Both *-ette* and *-esque* are suffixes that are not very productive. As stated in the *OED Online*, suffix *-ette* forms denominal or deverbal nouns to denote the feminine diminutive. It may also be used as a general diminutive as in *kitchen* –

kitchenette. In example (46), *dudette*, it is a playful formation to denote a female counterpart of *dude*, which is a slang term meaning ‘a fellow, chap’. On the other hand, as explained by Marchand (1969: 286), *-esque* derives adjectives meaning “having the (artistic, bizzare, picturesque) style of _”. Therefore *Clintonesque shilly-shallying* in (47) refers to the indecision supposedly characteristic of Clinton.

Abdulgate and *hollywoodspeak* are examples of the emerging suffixes *-gate* and *-speak* respectively. These suffixes both originate from free forms and are results of reanalysis and semantic modification. There is no consensus about the suffix-status of such new formatives. For example, Russell and Porter (1981: 278) classify *-gate* as a combining form and Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006) label *-speak* similarly. I believe that by now both *-gate* and *-speak*, through frequency, semantic, and morphological motivation, have achieved the status of suffix, or at least should be considered as emerging suffixes.

The emergent suffix *-gate* is a result of reanalysis of the name *Watergate*, and forms nouns and adjectives which denote some kind of scandal (initially, only restricted to the domain of politics) involving public figures. According to the *OED Online*, the suffix *-gate* can be attached to proper names of people or places associated or implicated in a scandal, as in *Abdulgate* (48). Maxwell (2004) quotes, among others, *Cherigate* (triggered by Cherie Blair's association with Carol Caplin) and *Svengate* (referring to the alleged affair between Sven-Goran Eriksson, England's football coach, and a Football Association secretary). The formative *-gate* has been borrowed by other languages. For example, I came across *Leppergate*, and *Tuskgate* in Polish, from the names of the Polish politicians Andrzej Lepper and Donald Tusk respectively, and *Blochergate* in Swiss (French, German and Italian) media, derived from the name of the Swiss politician Christoph Blocher.

Similarly, the suffix *-speak* is a case of reanalysis from the word *newspeak* coined by Orwell (1949) in his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. It is defined in the *OED Online* as a suffix used “to denote a particular variety of language or characteristic mode of speaking.” In example (49), *hollywoodspeak* refers to a variety of language used in the American movie industry. There is one more *-speak* derivative in my data: *womenspeak* (B55). Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006: 181) observe that since the 1960s many new words ending *-speak* have emerged, which

refer to “a group’s or profession’s jargon or lingo”. They quote, among others, *adspeak* (advertising jargon), *computerspeak* and *technospeak* (technological jargon).

The only infixation observed in my corpus is a case of expletive infixation. Expletive infixation has been discussed in morphological literature by Aronoff (1976: 69ff.), Bauer (1983: 89ff.), and McMillan (1980). McMillan (1980: 164) identifies fourteen neutral infixes and sixteen expletives that are used as infixes in English. His list includes *fucking* as in *Halle-fucking-lujah* (50) where it functions as an emotive intensifier.

- (50) So when someone actually makes it to the end, it is time to put down your pens, walk into that unknown expanse known as "outside", raise your arms aloft and sing great praises to the big academic journal in the sky, often accompanied by a whooping cry of Halle-fucking-lujah. (B45)

In a more recent publication Adams (2001) suggests that the growing number of infixations indicates that the process is more flexible than previously assumed.

6.8.4.2 Compounds

Generally, there is a lot of variation in the orthographic representation of compounds. They can be written as one unbroken word, a hyphenated word or as two orthographic words (see chapter 2.6.2). This is partly due to the lack of a clear distinction between compounds and phrases. Following the criterion suggested by Biber et al. (1999) I have used orthography as an indicator of compound status. That is, constructions that are hyphenated and constructions that are written as an unbroken word have been classified as compounds. This criterion also then includes hyphenated lexical phrases (Fischer 1998: 43ff.). Multi-word lexical phrases are discussed in section 6.8.5.

Highly productive processes of nominal and adjectival compounding are common in my data. Some selected patterns are: noun + adjective, adjective + ed-participle for adjectival compounds, and noun + noun for nominal compounds.

In my data, adjectival compounds range from uncommon formations to compounds that are composed from relatively common elements. Two examples, *abbreviation-friendly* (51) and *hetero-challenged* (51), belong to the second group. They are also cases of the commonly established patterns of noun + adjective

compounding in *abbreviation-friendly*, and adjective + ed-participle compounding in *hetero-challenged*. Both compounds are used attributively in the respective examples. Biber et al. (1999: 535) observe that adjectival compounds are more common in attributive use.

- (51) I'm fascinated by the growth, morphing, and over-use of clever shorthands. For example, those country oval stickers that started in Europe to identify a car's country of origin, and can now be seen everywhere signifying anything (I myself have a "FOO" oval on my car). Or the I?NY bumper stickers that were adapted to all sorts of affections, abbreviation-friendly or not. (B34)
- (52) what good is having a network of equally hetero-challenged friends if you can't use their unused bodily fluids (B111)

Abbreviation-friendly is an example of a very common pattern: *N-friendly* compounds (Bauer and Renouf 2001: 111). The pattern originates from the adjectival compound *user-friendly*, which originally referred to software or hardware that is easy to use by ordinary, non-specialist, people. The plethora of new formations on the pattern of *N-friendly*, with the meaning of *-friendly* undergoing semantic change into 'suitable for', may also indicate that the second element, similar to *-speak*, is in the process of developing into an affix. In fact, Crystal (1991) calls *-friendly* "an interesting suffix" and mentions several *-friendly* derived formations *girl-friendly*, *labour-friendly* and even *newspaper-friendly* referring to 'ink that does not rub off on the fingers'.

The compound *hetero-challenged* is created on the pattern of adjective + ed-participle, probably motivated by *mentally challenged* or *physically challenged*. The past participle *challenged* is a euphemistic reference to some deficiency in a person, and *hetero* is a colloquial clipping for *heterosexual*. In example (51) the term has been used as an oblique reference to homosexuality.

Nominal compounding patterns found in my corpus include patterns of adjective + noun, as in *faux-friend* (53), and noun + Ving, as in *power-walking*, in example (54).

- (53) But the summer after she graduated from high school, one of her faux-friend / classmates (let's call her Meg) hosted a series of parties. . . (B24)
- (54) When it comes to distances outdoors, I love meters and kilometers. I have a physical feel for what a kilometer is. I know that when I'm out power-walking, I cover 5.5 of them every hour. (B85)

Both *faux-friend* and *power-walking* are right headed compounds that have been used in an endocentric way in these examples. That is, their meaning can be determined from both or at least one of the elements. In *faux-friend* the head *friend* is modified by an adjective *faux*, which means ‘false, fake, insincere’. Similarly, *power-walking* is a kind of brisk walking (also called speed-walking), an exercise.

The noun + noun compounds in my corpus range from semantically motivated or partly motivated, endocentric ones like *bench-guy* (55), *brainfreeze* (56), *flashmob* (57) and *mouse-finger* (58) to more opaque ones like *meatspace* (59), (60) and *wardriver* (61).

These compounds can also be divided into two groups of Internet-specific compounds and general compounds. Examples (55) and (56) illustrate general new coinages. In sports vocabulary, the term *bench-guy* refers to a reserve player in any team sport that allows substitutes, that is, ‘a guy on the bench for reserve players’. In example (55), *bench-guy* is used in a non-sports context. Here it suggests somebody sitting on a bench and selling drugs. Unfortunately, the context available is not sufficient to verify whether this interpretation is correct. *Brainfreeze*, also referred to as *ice-cream headache*, is a sudden and powerful headache that rarely lasts for more than 20 seconds and is caused by consuming cold food or drinks (Hulihan 1997).

- (55) We found a bench-guy who sold us hashish by a con at first until we surrounded him to hand over the promised handful (B78)
- (56) And when I drank something cool, it throbbed like a brainfreeze. (B111)
- (57) Having people arrested for taking place in a flashmob is not the kind of attention we are seeking. (B84)
- (58) At the end of yesterday's exciting episode, User X was waiting, mouse-finger poised, to click on our "Sign In" link... let's see where the story continues! (B93)
- (59) I just met for the first time in meatspace: Jason, Jack, Brigitte, Maura, Robert, Christina, Ariana, Lane, and Ben. (B68)
- (60) Interesting terminology in that article. I've never heard the word "meatspace", before. I prefer the acronym "RL" (Real Life) (B85)
- (61) WiFiMaps.com collects data gathered by wardrivers all over, and presents them in a searchable (by zip code, for example) database. (B34)

Internet-specific nominal compounds are exemplified by (57) - (61).

They may be instances of direct semantic reference to the Internet or computer reality, as in *mouse-finger* which is not just any finger but ‘the finger that controls a computer mouse’ that is ready “to click on our “Sign In” link” (58). *Urban Dictionary* confirms that *mouse-finger* comes from computer terminology and defines it as “the dominant, or preferred, finger the video game player uses to wield their most valuable implement of destruction, i.e. the computer mouse.”

They may also be instances of indirect reference as in *flashmob*, *meatspace* and *wardriver*. *Flashmob* is a social phenomenon that involves organizing a mob by emailing instructions to people telling them to be present at a certain place and time where they will be told what to do. *Word Spy* defines *flashmob* as “A large group of people who gather in a usually predetermined location, perform some brief action, and then quickly disperse.” *Meatspace* is partly motivated by the analogy to *cyberspace*. As explained in example (60), *meatspace* is a synonym for ‘real life’. It is the opposite of *cyberspace* and refers to ‘the flesh-and-blood’ world, hence probably the use of ‘meat’. Thus, people can meet in meatspace or in cyberspace. *Wardriver*, as used in (61) is not a driver who drives during a war, nor does the *war* in *wardriver* have any connection to warfare. *Wardriver* comes from the hacker’s lexicon and describes a person who drives around in a car and looks for unprotected wireless networks usually to use them or hack them. The term *wardriving* is based on terminology used in *WarGames*, the Hollywood movie from 1983. However, Ryan (2004) suggests that ‘war’ in *wardriver* and *wardriving* might have taken on a new meaning and could be an example of a reverse acronym for ‘Wireless Access Reconnaissance’.

6.8.4.3 Blends

The meaning of a blend goes back to the meaning of its building words. Structurally, the synchronic identification of a blend as being a result of the fusion of two single words largely depends on the ability on the side of a language user to associate a given blend with its input words.

Examples of some new blends from my corpus are *Buffyverse* (62), *Asciimation* (63), *celebutante* (64), *cosplay* (65), *chmod* (66), *Republocrats* (67), *gynormous* (68), and *spork* (69).

- (62) Soon Channel 7 won't have us Buffyverse people to kick around any more and they'll have to foist their rubbish on some other poor late night group. (B95)
- (63) Star Wars Ascimation (B93)
- (64) But here's an even more annoying one: "celebutantes," to describe wealthy young women who are famous for being wealthy and young. (B88)
- (65) Probably the most interesting thing about the whole event was the cosplay. Cosplay is when people dress up as someone from anime, manga or film. It's a bit like fancy dress in England. (B104)
- (66) MacObserver nearly got bamboozled by a pretty funny parody of a religious nut claiming that Macs are the tools of pagans because the OS is called Darwin, the symbol carries a pitchfork, the code is "open-source" (and therefore socialism), and you use a command called "chmod 666". (B109)
- (67) Will we have the smarts to take advantage of the suicide the Republocrats are committing? (B35)
- (68) Well, mainly one tip, involving the Thor character in the Ruins in the demo. He's the one who's as tall as a skyscraper, and carries a gynormous hammer. (B85)
- (69) Yet another reason to defeat Bush: he's stacking the federal courts (and thus the interpretation of the Constitution for much of the next generation) with twisted creepazoids you wouldn't turn your back on with a plastic spork. (B7)

Apart from *celebutatne* (64) and *cosplay* (65), where bloggers explicitly comment on, or explain the blends, and *Ascimation* (63), where a sample animation is provided under the text, all other examples are either semantically self-evident or assumed by the blogger to be so. Table 6.3 lists the blends and corresponding source words.

<i>Blend</i>	<i>Source words</i>
Buffyverse	Buffy + universe
Ascimation	ASCII + animation
celebutante	celebrity + debutante
cosplay	costume + play
chmod	change + mode
Republocrats	republicans + democrats
gynormous	gigantic + enormous
spork	spoon + fork

Table 6.3: Blends and their source words

Semantically, blends fall into two categories: endocentric relations and exocentric relations. In endocentric relations, one of the words takes the function of the semantic head whereas the other of a modifier as in *Buffyverse*, *Asciimation chmod*, and *cosplay*. For example, *Buffyverse* is a blend of *Buffy* + *universe*, referring to the universe of Buffy who is a character in a popular TV series: Buffy the Vampire Slayer. Exocentric blends are composed of words having equal semantic status, as in *celebutante*, *gynormous*, *Republocrats*, and *spork*. For example, the compound *spork* is an implement which combines both a spoon and a fork, and *celebutante* is a person who is both a debutant and celebrity (i.e., an emerging celebrity).

In terms of structural make-up, the blends in my corpus fall into three categories:

- where the left base has been kept intact and the right has been clipped off, as in *Buffyverse* and *Asciimation*;
- where the right base has been kept intact and the left has been clipped, as in *cosplay*;
- where both words have undergone truncation, as in *celebutante*, *chmod*, *gynormous*, *Republocrats* and *spork*.

Asciimation and *chmod* are examples of Internet-specific neologisms, whereas *Buffyverse*, *cosplay*, *celebutante*, *gynormous*, *Republocrats* and *spork* come from the general domain.

6.8.4.4 Clipping

In my corpus, examples of clippings are mainly colloquial shortenings following the prototypical patterns where a polysyllabic word is shortened by the final syllable(s), as in the nouns *guac* (71) and *fic* (72), short for ‘guacamole’ and ‘fiction’ respectively, and the verb *lube* (73), short for lubricate. Frequently, when clippings are used, either the full word-form appears earlier in the text or they are used in explicit context.

- (71) Moreover, I know Sonia loves the guacamole, so I ate it as fast as I could in an incredibly mature and really appropriate effort to spite her. So I'm wolfing down chips and guac (B21)
- (72) I actually did a little bit of writing yesterday so I'm hoping things improve on that score too. I've also got a new idea for a fic but I

need to work things out before I decide whether I can write it or not. (B18)

- (73) The wheels, my god, they must have been lubed with some super-slick oil created in secret labs in Area B 51, it was moving of its own volition and simply would not right itself and assume the position it was in prior to my touching it. (B111)

There are also examples of what López Rúa (2006) classifies as marginal clippings, that is, instances of phonetic elision (see chapter 2.6.4). Normally, phonetic elisions are used mainly orally. Since the language used in blogs is often highly informal these phonetic clippings are also found in blogs. They may be marked in writing by an apostrophe as in *c'mon* (74) the clipped form of *come on* or left unmarked as in *bday* (75).

- (74) Remember a while back when I posted, "Why does everything happen at once?" No? C'mon, it was just the other day. (B68)
- (75) Wants to take us to Miami for his bday! (B78)

All clipping examples quoted here are general (non-Internet-specific) types.

6.8.4.5 Back-formation

The only example that might be classified as back-formation in my corpus is the verb *back-construct* (76). It follows the pattern discussed by Cannon (1987) of verbal back-formation on a nominal base through the loss of *-ion*, as in *back-form* < *back-formation*, similarly *back-construct* < *back-construction*. One could also argue, however, that *to back-construct* is a verbal compound of *back* + *construct*.

- (76) So having never acknowledged it at the time, they now back-construct that period in order to use it as a weapon with which to hit Australians over the head (B90)

6.8.4.6 Abbreviations

Both kinds of abbreviations, namely, acronyms and alphabetisms, are present in my corpus. Additionally, I found new patterns that go beyond the traditional abbreviations. These 'innovative shortenings' which, among others, cover cases of letter and number homophones, phonetic respellings and symbols, will be discussed in section 6.8.5.

Initialisms are by far the most productive abbreviations in my corpus. They have been used equally readily in both Internet-specific and general contexts, and range from abbreviated titles and names to phrases. Traditional initialisms are created using the pattern of taking the initial letter of each content word. Spelling conventions are often flexible, as illustrated by the abbreviation for ‘Internet Movie Data Base’, for which examples of all options are to be found. It is written as *IMdb* in (77), as *imdb* in (78), *IMDb* in (79), and *IMDB* in (80).

- (77) After I saw the pilot, I came online and checked out a couple of the actors on IMdb as they looked familiar. (B16)
- (78) I can’t post links to an official site as all the ones I visited were broken, but here’s part of a review I found on imdb. (B59)
- (79) The idea is to take the IMDb top 250 movies list and highlight all those you have seen. (B102)
- (80) It’s like being back at the IMDB Boards *shudder* (B82)

Initialisms are semantically opaque and can be understood only through context, or familiarity with the particular formation. Consider *NSFW* (not safe for work), previously mentioned in this chapter, or *afk* (away from keyboard) in (81), *AOTC* (Attack of the Clones) and *LOTR* (Lord of the Rings) in (82), *DHCP* (dynamic host configuration protocol) in (83), and *ESCR* (embryonic stem cell research) in (84).

- (81) I’ve been afk for a while, attending the DIGRA conference in Vancouver. (B51)
- (82) The effects are much better than AOTC (except for the scene where they have 5/6 Jango Fett heads stuck onto clones - looked a bit iffy). The culling of the Jedi especially is some of the best stuff I’ve seen since the heady LOTR days. (B108)
- (83) I’m freshly signed up, so I’m not sure how the service handles DHCP - dynamic mapping of IP addresses. (B87)
- (84) Part of what got Bush elected was his pro-life stance. Now he has to deliver something to those who elected him and, more broadly, all those who hope to end abortion and prevent ESCR and cloning. Will he? Can he? (B83)

Some initialisms remain primarily graphic and are read as the full expression they replace. This is the case with *ROFLMAO* (85), which probably should not be read as the individual letters but rather as ‘Rolling On Floor Laughing My Ass Off’.

- (85) "AND I SAVED THE DAY," announces Wil with his arms up in a victory post. ROFLMAO. (B25)

Acronyms are illustrated here by two examples from my corpus: *omg* in *omgbeautiful* (86) and *schwag* (87).

- (86) The ending of RotK walked a fine line between cheesy and omgbeautiful (B82)
- (87) Well, tomorrow is my step-son's birthday, so I'm off to get him some birthday schwag. (B25)

Omgbeautiful is an interesting case. It looks like either a compound in which one of the base elements is an acronym, *omg*, or a shortening of a phrase. *Omg*, which stands for the interjection ‘oh my god’, functions as an intensifier in either case. *Schwag* was quite difficult to disambiguate. The contextual information available in sample B25 is insufficient even to decide if it is a simple term or some kind of abbreviation. *Urban Dictionary* suggests that it is a slang term for poor quality marijuana. This sense, however, does not seem to fit the context of blog B25. Although the term is frequently used on the Web (785,000 Google hits on 14 November 2007) none of the reference sources I have used offered any explanation. One article in *Wired Magazine* (Jan 2001) explains the history and origin of this acronym. According to the article, *Schwag* is a “faux-Yiddish derivative” for *swag* ‘stuff we all get’ a term originally used to describe free, logo-stamped promotional products. Nowadays it also refers to logo-stamped products in general and this is the sense in which it seems to have been used in example (87). I believe, for most speakers, the original link to the semantic motivation is lost, and consequently, the word is not perceived as an acronym.

6.8.4.7 Conversion

Although practically all kinds of simple and complex bases can act as input for conversion, it operates mainly between nouns, verbs and adjectives. Usually, it is difficult to determine the directionality of conversion. For new formations, however, the order in which they have entered the lexicon can often be traced, as in the humorous conversion based on *chav* (N) → *chav* (V) in example (88).

- (88) To chav or not to chav... (B108)

The examples selected for this section include instances of the ‘noun → verb’ pattern like *chav* (88) and *google* (89), ‘noun → adjective’, like *metrosexual* (90), ‘adjective → verb’, like *girly* (91), and ‘abbreviation → verb’, like *IMDB* (92).

- (89) But when I googled for pictures with "Branson Rutan", I got to this story involving both gentlemen dated February 11th 2004. (B37)
- (90) But you won't catch me calling it a sour apple martini. Oh hell no. How metrosexual. (B4)
- (91) They girlyed around before settling down into bed. (B76)
- (92) Never heard of the director, I'll IMDB him later. (B109)

Among the examples above, *girly* and *google* can be classified as cases of full conversion as they assume new inflections. The other conversions are also cases of full conversion, yet this is not manifested in the selected excerpts.

6.8.4.8 Eponyms

Generically used proper names in my corpus are mainly names of companies and people, used as common nouns and verbs typically with extended meanings.

In examples (93) and (94), *chyron* and *skype*, respectively, illustrate the case when the name of a company or a product has given rise to new formations, which later frequently serve as input for further word-building, for example conversion. Chyron Corporation produces graphics software for the visual media industry, and the term *chyron* is used for text or graphics displayed in the lower part of the screen, for instance, in a news broadcast. Skype is the name of a software program that enables users to make phone calls, chat and exchange files via the Internet (i.e., it enables IP-telephony). When you ‘skype’ somebody, you communicate with the person using Skype software.

- (93) The network's chyron is so distinctive it not only inspired commercials that began and ended with text captions, but I believe it indirectly caused the proliferation of semi-transparent logos that infest the lower-right corner of any TV screen. (B93)
- (94) skype me here, or Email Me there (B3)

Skype is an example of an Internet-specific eponym. Another such example is *fisk*, and the derived form *fisking*, as illustrated in examples (95) and (96). The term *Fisk* is derived from the name of British journalist Robert Fisk, and first appeared in the blogging lexicon in early 2001. Safire explains in his *New York*

Times language column (February 19, 2006) that *fisking* means “when you take an article and reprint it on your blog adding your line-by-line critique. It comes from bloggers doing that to Fisk's work.”

- (95) Jones is also fished by Jarvis and Ernie Miller (B6)
- (96) Pejman's adopted both tactics: make false accusations, and repeat them in so many places with so many words, that people won't pay attention to the original fisking he suffered, because who has time to read through so much garbage? (B64)

6.8.5 Other cases

The methodology used in this research has the advantage of also identifying cases which are not easy to categorize in terms of the lexical extension processes or are interesting for semantic or morphological reasons. Some of these cases will be analysed in this section.

One of the alternative strategies responsible for the emergence of neologisms in my corpus is analogy. The analogical pattern may cause (partial) substitution of a morphological or phonological element in an existing formation by a new element. Some of the resulting neologisms are jocular in nature. For example, *Ablogalypse* (97) is based on *apocalypse*, probably referring to the ‘apocalypse of blogs’. *Scapecat* (98) is formed using the pattern of *scapegoat* where the element *goat* is substituted by *cat*. It can be understood as ‘a cat that is a scapegoat’. Finally, *intexicated* (99) is based on *intoxicated* and, as explained in the excerpt, refers to texting (sending a SMS message) while under the influence of alcohol.

- (97) Not only did he think that it would be insulting to call Glenn Reynolds, Steven Den Beste, Andrew Sullivan, and Charles Johnson "the Four Horsemen of the Ablogalypse" -- something that backfired (see this post for more) (B64)
- (98) Article about the investigation into the decline of sparrows and starlings in today's Independent. (...) Scientists blame cats for decline of sparrows while the headline here (on page 13 of the print version) says that Cats, cars, and cleaner streets lead to the fall of a once-common bird. (B59)
- (99) Drunken texts have replaced snogging colleagues at work parties as the biggest embarrassment of the festive season. The problem of texting under the influence is so common it has been given a name

"intoxicated". Around B 60 million texts are sent every day in December. (B55)

Another interesting type consists of new items which are larger than words but show characteristics of words as well as syntactic phrases. I will label them, after Fischer (1998: 44), as 'lexical phrases'.

The term *Deserter-in-chief* (100) is modelled on *Commander-in-Chief*. Both terms refer to the American president G.W. Bush who is the *de-facto* Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces, but is also perceived by some people to be an army deserter because they believe he avoided being sent to Vietnam by joining the US National Guard.

- (100) At least with our drunk-driving deserter-in-chief, we can cut a little slack for the fascinating variety of his personal incompetence. (B7)

Another example of lexical phrase is *been-there-done-that*, in example (101). It can be defined as being familiar with the subject at hand to the point where it is not of interest any more.

- (101) "Naruto" is so refreshing! There are a lot of cutesy, perv, been-there-done-that anime floating about. This series however brings something new to my viewing. (B8)

The term *dumbitude* (102) is interesting for at least two reasons. Firstly, it violates language-internal regulating mechanisms (discussed in section 3.7.1), namely, the formation should have been blocked by the existence of another word that has the same meaning or function – the already existing term *dumbness*. Secondly, the suffix *-tude* is a Latinate suffix, which attaches to only Latinate bases, and *dumb* is not of Latin etymology. This case only confirms that although language-internal regulation mechanisms might be used to explain why certain terms do not get coined, they cannot be used as absolute norms that actually prevent people from coining such terms.

- (102) Of course, you might not be as stupid as me. This is devoutly to be hoped. But if you even suspect yourself of having near-me levels of dumbitude, heed my warning. (B92)

The term *fat-full* (*diet*) (103) is semantically interesting. It reflects a growing tendency to re-label items and concepts to reflect and adjust to the changing reality. A neologism coined by such re-labelling, which usually serves a

narrowing, specifying and disambiguating function, is called a ‘retronym’. Here *fat-full* is used consciously in the sense of ‘unhealthy’, as a contrastive term to *fat-free*, which has assumed the connotation of generally healthy food.

- (103) Thats a positively ripe old age. And here I was thinking my current fat-full diet would see me off in 10 or so years! (B108)

Neologisms in my corpus created through retronymy, analogy, and violations of regulatory structural mechanisms are not Internet-specific. However, there are other Internet-specific neologisms in the corpus that cannot be classified into classical word-building categories. These are characterised by the innovative use of letters and numbers, phonetic respellings, and number homophones. All these strategies contribute to the creation of Internet jargon and Internet-specific neologisms. The remainder of this section discusses three examples of Internet jargon neologisms: *haxor* (104), *phatty* (105), and *W00t* (106). By Internet jargon, I mean not only terms related to the Internet, but also terms that are predominantly used only on the Internet (or in CMC).

- (104) The big problem I'm already running into is cars were not developed to allow easy haxoring while driving. (B74)
(105) Good Sales people get phatty paid. (B74)
(106) Not just slow and annoying, but also memory hogs! W00t! (B44)

Internet jargon often exhibits great creativity. Many of the new spelling rules originate from hackers vocabulary, leet-speak, discussed in chapter 4. Ross (2006: 44) notes that “more and more leet-speak terms are being borrowed by chatters and messengers.”

Haxor is an example of the common replacement of the letters ‘ck’ by ‘x’ in leet-speak. Additionally, a quasi suffix *-or* is added. Normally the ‘o’ in *haxor* would also be replaced by the number ‘0’. Google returns 294,000 hits for *hax0r*. The term *Haxor* functions as a noun (‘a hacker’) or a verb (‘to hack’). Thus, *haxoring* (also *haxxoring*) means ‘hacking’. Another quasi-standard spelling replacement is illustrated by *phatty* where ‘ph’ is substituted for ‘f’. (You will find more examples of this kind in the Appendix). Such spelling replacements might result not only in orthographic neologisms but also in semantic neologisms, when the new formations depart from their original meanings, as in the case of *phishing* (which refers to ‘Internet fraud’, and has nothing to do with catching fish). The

term *Woot*, a combination of letters and numbers, seems to function as an interjection used to express happiness. Although there are over 10 million hits for *Woot* on Google (September 2007), among all the external sources that I have used as reference, only *Urban Dictionary* contains an entry for this word, where it is defined as “An expression of joy and excitement.”

6.9 Summary

There is a general assumption that the Internet and Internet-based communication are fertile grounds for neologisms to emerge. This chapter has focussed on the study of neologisms in one of the Internet communication domains – blogs.

First the goals of the research project and corpus creation were explained. I described the architecture of Indiana, a software tool specially created to facilitate the analysis of neologisms in my corpus. This was followed by a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the methodology adopted in the project. I also revisited the definition of a neologism to match the requirements and scope of this research project. The largest part of this chapter was devoted to research findings. The findings were first discussed in general quantitative terms, and then using a more detailed qualitative analysis of various lexical extension patterns as applied in my corpus. The chapter finished with a section on innovative, Internet-specific neologisms.

This chapter presented general results; in the next chapter I will look at specific case studies involving innovation, spread and attitudes to lexical change.

7. Observing change in progress

7.1 Introduction

In the pre-Internet era it was very difficult to observe lexical change in progress. The difficulty was in the limited availability of data, as well as a shortage of observation tools. The coinage and spread of lexical items were usually analysed only after the change was complete. Analysis of lexical change was often conducted only by observing the new additions to the dictionary, or by comparing various issues of the same dictionary. Nowadays, there is an abundance of data, various new computerized tools have been created to enhance the lexical research and even dictionaries are updated much more frequently to reflect the rapidly changing language. Consequently, using computerized filtering tools on a million word corpus spanning a period of only 7 years, it is possible to conduct a small-scale research on lexical change in progress, something that would not have been feasible a few decades ago.

In this chapter, we will look at selected cases exemplifying lexical change in progress. The chapter is divided into three parts. First, I discuss two cases of innovation: the competition of neologisms in filling a lexical gap, and creation of a new prefix (*uber-*). Next, I analyse change as manifested by the spread of the existing pattern of *-holic* suffixation. Finally, I consider two aspects of institutionalisation: types of morphological cognates based on the word *blog*, and attitudes towards neologisms as expressed in my corpus.

7.2 Observing innovation

Lexical productivity and creativity in language are most clearly demonstrated by newly coined words, and the patterns used or created in response to the changing reality. In this section, I will examine lexical innovation from the semantic and morphological perspectives as manifested by the naming innovations created by the bloggers in their attempts to fill a lexical gap. I will also discuss a case of new affix creation.

7.2.1 Naming need and naming competition

Blogging tends to encourage creativity. It enables people to write for larger audiences without imposing upon them the strict editing policies typical of traditional publications. This, in turn may also mitigate the self-editing mechanisms normally used by people. This is reflected in the creation and co-existence of several, often competing, terms, to name the same concept. One such case is discussed later in this section.

New words are generally introduced to describe a concept or item that did not exist before or to fill a lexical gap. Algeo (1991: 14) observes that:

The need for new words is both pragmatic and esthetic. Pragmatically, when there are new things to talk about, we need new words to name them. Or sometimes we want to talk about old things in a new way. Changes in society, whether material or intellectual, call for new words; and the more intense the social change, the more need we have to name new things or rename old ones. Thus invention, discovery, exploration, war, commerce, and revolution all breed neology. But language is not limited to the practical values of conceptualization, communication, management, and cooperation. Language is a field for play and poetry.

In blogs, it is both social and technological change that calls for terms to describe novel concepts. As blogging gained popularity, and as blogs began connecting to one another, a need emerged to label this new social network formed by the collection of connected blogs. From my corpus I have retrieved the following terms that are used in the afore-mentioned sense, listed here in alphabetical order: *blogdom*, *bloggy-land*, *blogistan*, *blogland*, and *blogosphere*. Let us first consider the morphology of these terms.

The formation of *blogdom* might be influenced by the existing word *kingdom*, and formed analogically on its pattern. The *OED Online* defines *kingdom* as ‘an organized community having a king as its head; a monarchical state or government’ and ‘the territory or country subject to a king; the area over which a king's rule extends; a realm.’ In this sense *blogdom* would be ‘an organized community of blogs, an area dominated and controlled by blogs and bloggers.’ Alternatively, *blogdom* might have been formed using the derivational process of *-dom* suffixation. The suffix *-dom* is used in the sense ‘territory, collectivity, domain’ and, according to Marchand (1969: 262f.), is also very productive ‘though most of the words are slightly humorous and not exactly recognized as

standard vocabulary.” On the *OED Online*, *-dom* is also classified as an active suffix “freely employed to form nonce-derivatives, not only with the sense of ‘condition, state, dignity’, but also with that of ‘domain, realm’.” Then *blogdom* would be explained as the ‘world of blogs, territory of blogs’ but would also have a potential humorous connotation, possibly not intended by the bloggers who coined and/or use the term.

Bloggy-land is a compound created by concatenating two bases *bloggy* and *land*. *Bloggy* is a derivative from *blog* formed by *-y* suffixing, which generally forms adjectives from nouns, and creates the sense ‘having the qualities of’ or ‘full of’, as in *ice -icy*. *Land* is a noun that denotes ‘a surface marked off by natural or political boundaries or considered as an integral section of the globe; a country, territory.’ The *OED Online*, in its 2004 draft addition to the entry ‘land’, specifies that *land* is also used as a second element in nominal compounds, *Xland*, with the sense of ‘the notional realm or domain dominated by or centred around X’, ‘a world typified or characterised by X’. So *bloggy-land* would be ‘a territory, surface full of blogs’, or ‘a domain centred around blogs.’ Here again we can have an alternative interpretation, as *-y* can also be a suffix for diminutives. Additionally, for me, *bloggy-land* somehow carries some resemblance to *Disneyland*, ‘fantastic or fanciful land or place; a never-never land’, and comes across as a playful formation.

The combining form *-stan* is typically used in the names of countries as in Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, and so on. It comes from the Persian word for ‘land of’, ‘place of’, or ‘country of’, and is used in the names of many central Asian countries. For example, in Urdu, India is called *Hindustan*, ‘the land of Hindus’. The *OED Online* also notes that *-stan* is used in the creation of “fictitious place names with the sense ‘the notional realm or domain dominated by or centred around X’, ‘a world typified or characterised by X’”. Therefore, *blogistan* might be interpreted as ‘the place/land of blogs.’ In the December 2007 update to the *OED Online*, a variant of the combining form *-stan*, namely *-istan*, has been added. It is marked as “Freq. humorous.” And in the associated quotations, examples of *nerdistan*, *Blogistan* and *Londonistan* are used as illustrated below:

1999 N.Y. Times 24 Jan. (Business section) 4/1 Irvine..is what you might call a nerdistan: a suburban enclave..where scientists, engineers and technicians feel comfortable living and working. 2004 Wired Sept. 155/3 A

Republican who ran on a platform of ‘God, guns, and gays’, Inhofe revels in making statements that don't play well in the liberal precincts of Blogistan. 2006 N.Y. Mag. 21 Aug. 32/1 Over the last five years, Al Qaeda has dispersed its leadership across the globe, from Indonesia to Londonistan.

Blogland, similar to *bloggy-land*, is formed by compounding. Here, however, the sense seems to be neutral, devoid of humorous connotations.

Blogosphere appears to be formed either on the pattern of *atmosphere* and *ionosphere*, by *-sphere* suffixation, or may be the result of compounding with the noun *sphere*, which refers to ‘A province or domain in which one's activities or faculties find scope or exercise, or within which they are naturally confined; range or compass of action or study.’ The reference to spherical structures like *ionosphere* seems a bit far-fetched, but if we consider *cyberspace* as a precedent, then the analogy between *blogosphere* and *ionosphere* seems reasonable.

The use of the above-mentioned terms is illustrated in (1) to (5):

- (1) Blogdom
We can't all be the InstaPundit, or Eric Olsen, or Andrew Sullivan. And if we were, Blogdom would be a boring place. (B109)
- (2) bloggy-land
I've been absent from bloggy-land this weekend. (B17)
- (3) Blogistan
The Blogistan Lexicon (B97)
- (4) blogland
The last but one was inspired by the fact that everyone in blogland is linking to this site at the moment. (B59)
- (5) blogosphere
Is the blogosphere growing or what? (B6)
Part of the Italian blogosphere is now debating about the credibility of the recovered information: can the Pentagon really be so clueless? (B47)

In my corpus *blogdom*, *bloggy-land*, and *blogistan*, are found only once, in one blog each. *Blogland* has the occurrence frequency of 3 and occurs in two different blogs. Of the five terms, only *blogosphere* has a markedly high occurrence frequency. There are 37 instances of the term in my corpus. Additionally, it also has high sample frequency, being present in 14 different blogs. The distribution of these terms in my corpus is complementary. That is, in the corpus I observe that if a blogger uses one term she does not use any of the

others. The only exception is the sample B17, where both *bloggy-land* and *blogosphere* have been used. This reinforces my interpretation that *bloggy-land* might be stylistically marked as a non-neutral term. Going by the context, all examples seem to have the same sense of the ‘blogging community, domain’. *Blogdom* and *Blogistan* are often spelt with the first letter in upper-case, as if they indeed referred to names of countries, and are to be considered proper names in general. They, indeed, seem to be competing terms, denoting the same concept.

If we look at time-spans, instances of *blogosphere* occur in my corpus from 2001 to 2005, with 2004 and 2005 having most examples. Since my corpus covers only the period from 1998-2005, I also looked up additional web-resources to see if there is any preference, nowadays, for one term over the others. Specifically, I checked all terms on the web search-engine Google. The results (retrieved on 7 December 2007) are presented in Table 7.1.

<i>Term</i>	<i>Google hits</i>
blogdom	748,000
bloggy-land	2,387
blogistan	220,000
blogland	460,000
blogosphere	8,500,000

Table 7.1: Google frequencies for new formations for a network of blogs

The term least used is *bloggy-land*, which further feeds my belief that the term has playful overtones. *Blogosphere* is the most popular term, generating over eight million hits on the search-engine. It is also the only word from my list that is attested in the *Time Magazine* corpus (corpus.byu.edu/time/), where I found 12 instances. The popularity of the term can be partly explained by its adoption in the media and the literature on the blogging phenomenon.

7.2.2 Emergence of a new pattern: *uber-* prefixation

In chapter 6, I discussed some new affixes that have recently emerged in English as a result of the reanalysis of existing vocabulary items. (Section 7.3 provides detailed analysis of the spread of one such pattern, namely *-holic*, in English). However, new affixes may also enter the English language through borrowing. One such example is the prefix *uber-*, which has been borrowed from German *über-* and has been orthographically adapted in English. That is, it is typically used

in English without the umlaut over the *u*, though umlauted forms have also been attested. In this section, I will discuss the emergence and use of this new word-building pattern.

In German, *über-* means, among other meanings, ‘superior’, as in *Übermensch*. *Übermensch* is the concept used by German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche for a superior human being – literally *über* + *mensch* : ‘superior’ + ‘human being’.

It is interesting to note that *über-* has been borrowed from German into English on two different occasions. Originally, it was borrowed into English as a calque translation of Nietzsche’s *Übermensch*, which gave English ‘superman’, at the beginning of the 20th century. Of course, the prefix *super-* existed in English before this, but in combination with *man* it is seen as a direct translation from German. The *OED Online* defines *superman* as follows:

(transl. G. *übermensch*) An ideal superior man conceived by Nietzsche as being evolved from the normal human type; loosely, a man of extraordinary power or ability; a superior being.

The second borrowing occurred probably in the last two decades, this time in its original form as *über*, and the adapted spelling *uber*. It is difficult to identify the exact moment when the formative was borrowed from German again. The claim that it might be a relatively recent borrowing is supported by the fact that the established dictionaries do not have an entry for it. For example, the *OED Online* does not list this prefix. The only entries with *über* in the *OED Online* are four German terms *über alles*, *Überfremdung*, *überhaupt* and the afore-mentioned *Übermensch*. Moreover, there is not a single word starting with *uber-* in the BNC, which contains text samples dating up to 1993.

In my corpus, however, I have found seven instances of derivatives with *uber/über* as illustrated in examples (6) to (12). The occurrence frequency of 7 seems like a small number, but the fact that the neologisms using this prefix are distributed across 6 different blogs (i.e., this prefix has a sample frequency of 6) suggests that we are not dealing here with a highly idiosyncratic language feature, an accidental characteristic, or an idiolect of one blogger. Also, the use of *uber-* is distributed over time, which means it should not be seen as just a manifestation of the sudden, “seasonal fashion”, that is, a vogue formation. In my corpus, the earliest instance of *uber-* derivations dates back to 30 March 2000, and the latest,

to 21 July 2004. In the example below, the information about the entry dates is provided in brackets for each example.

- (6) uber (fun)
I am too critical of us, but it could have been better. either way it was uber fun and my parental unit (dad, for once.) enjoyed it. (B57: April 22, 2003)
- (7) übercouple
I do, however, like this paragraph from the latest "Oh My God It's More Stuff About Those People!" story, in which the ersatz übercouple set off marriage rumors by going to a courthouse in Georgia (B88: September 23, 2003)
- (8) uber-designer
Today, we had lunch on the pier with Beto, Costa-Rican uber-designer/artist of such sites as Hapta.com and Haptas Blogus (his Spanish blog). (B68: March 30, 2000)
- (9) uber-geek-fests
Okay, some of you aren't Star Trek fans, and you guys must think Star Trek Cons are uber-geek-fests. Well, you're right. (B25: August 1, 2001)
- (10) uber-lounge
Which brand new uber-lounge, owned jointly by a Grammy winner and an Oscar winner, has two secret carpet-lined "Fuck Dungeons" in the basement, complete with beds, plasma TVs, and mirrors, mirrors, mirrors? (B78: July 21, 2004)
- (11) uber-square
I realize that some of you are having your image of sweet little Gordie and uber-square Wesley completely shattered right now, but I think it's best that you get to know the real me sooner than later, that way it won't hurt so badly when we break up. (B25: August 12, 2001)
- (12) uber-wife
As for me, I decided to be an uber-wife on Friday and mowed the lawn. (B17: September 6, 2004)

The variation in the spelling conventions, both in terms of the use of the umlaut, as well as the way new derivatives are written (that is, as a single word, hyphenated word, or two separate words) also suggest that *uber-* is a case of change in progress, here as an emerging new affix. As we saw in chapter 2, affixes are normally directly attached to the base. Cases when they are joined to the base by a hyphen indicate that formations might still not be established (Quirk et al. 1985: 1537).

The seven instances presented here demonstrate also that *uber-* is used in a variety of ways. Example (6) suggests the sense of something a bit stronger than

‘great fun’ or ‘good fun’, which, in the eyes of the author, would not have done justice to the situation. *Uber* in *uber fun* seems more like ‘super amazing’ or ‘mega’. Both *übercouple* and *uber-designer* suggest some kind of extraordinary abilities and, in this sense, resemble Nietzsche’s *Übermensch*. When talking about *uber-designer* we should first consider the meaning of the word *designer* itself. A designer is somebody who invents or plans new things. This frequently implies a special status such a person has, reserved for people who are creative, innovative and make something original. By itself, *designer* usually refers to fashion-designers, and such people are usually accorded celebrity-status. Therefore, *uber-designer* refers to a designer who is a cut above, even among designers. A similar analysis can be used to interpret the term *übercouple*. I searched for *übercouple* (all spelling variants, including hyphenation) on the web, to see who is classified as such. Google returned 872 references (as of November 2007). Most frequently cited *übercouple* were Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie, and Tom Cruise and Katie Holmes – indeed very powerful people in Hollywood. In (12), *uberwife* indicates ‘someone more capable than the usual wife’, a wife who accomplishes something more than average wives do, here, a husband’s job of mowing the lawn. In (9) and (11) *uber* is used in the sense ‘extremely’ or ‘mega-’, ‘hyper-’, *uber-square* person is ‘an extremely conservative, honest or dull person’ and *uber-geek-fest* is ‘a party or convention for extremely crazy people’ or ‘extremely strange party’. *Uber* can also denote something that is very fashionable or funky as in *uber-lounge* (10). Generally, instances of *uber-* in (6) to (12) refer to degree, superiority and intensity.

In my examples, *uber* is added to both nouns and adjectives. Although I have classified it as an affix, in *uber fun* it seems to function more like an adverbial intensifier than an affix. This might also be an indication that it has started departing from its original function.

There is hardly any discussion about *uber-* in linguistic literature. I found a brief mention in Maxwell (2004) who classifies *über-* as a prefix with “slightly negative overtones, i.e.: the idea of ‘excessively’” which attaches to adjectives. She quotes the following *über-* derivatives as popular examples: *über-successful*, *über-modern*, *über-trendy*, *über-rich* and *über-popular*. In his article from 23 June 2003, Safire discusses *uber* as follows:

Now that hyper is looking down at super, is there a prefix above both – some hyperlative on the way? (That's one step up from superlative, and is a term that Hyperman would use to describe his Lois Lane.)

Yes, a topper to both is way up there, coming on strong: über.

He illustrates it with the examples of *Überauthor*, *Überspeed*, *Übercurrency* and *über-danceable* that come from various journalistic sources. There is also a fleeting reference to *über-* in Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006) who argue that the days of this prefix are not over, contrary to the opinion expressed in *Copy Editor* which they quoted (ibid.: 219).

Maxwell (2004) also suggests that the prefix is mainly used in journalistic prose. Therefore, I searched the publicly available *Time Magazine* corpus (corpus.byu.edu/time/) where, in the data from the 1990s and 2000s, I found 26 instances of *uber*. A majority of the occurrences in this corpus are nouns. All instances, apart from *uber-agent*, which is used on three different occasions, occur only once in the corpus. The most recent examples are *uber-trendy* from 2006, and *uber-designed*, *uber-guy*, *ubermodels* and *uberorganic* from 2004. For a similar time period, a simple query in *The New York Times* archive since 1981 (query.nytimes.com), conducted in October 2007, returned over 400 instances of *uber* derivations (excluding those found in the article by Safire). The most recent instance at the time of the query was, *uber-stylist*, dated October 21, 2007.

I also consulted several websites dedicated to recording neologisms (see section 3.5.2). Only *Word Spy* and *Urban Dictionary* list instances of *uber*-derivations. In *Word Spy* there is one main entry, *ubersexual*, and three examples used in other quotations: *uber-rich*, *uber-metrosexual*, and *uber-geeks*. *Ubersexual* is explained as “A heterosexual man who is masculine, confident, compassionate, and stylish”. *Word Spy* gives the first quotation as

The descriptor 'uber' was chosen because it means the best, the greatest. Ubersexuals are the most attractive (not just physically), most dynamic, and most compelling men of their generations. They are confident, masculine, stylish, and committed to uncompromising quality in all areas of life. (Marian Salzman, "The Future of Men," Palgrave Macmillan, September 16, 2005)

Urban Dictionary, on the other hand, lists over 250 *uber-* formations (November 2007) from across the alphabet.

7.3 Observing spread

In this section I will discuss the development and spread of the suffix *-holic*. I will argue that the pattern is not only quite active but that it is also undergoing functional change. I will use the *-holic* derived neologisms retrieved from my corpus to illustrate the discussion.

The affix *-holic* is a result of the reanalysis of the ending in *alcoholic* which has been resegmented to *alco* + *-holic* from the original *alcohol* + *-ic*. New formations based on this pattern are often perceived as blends of X and *alcoholic*, as in *workaholic*, from *work* + *alcoholic*, and *chocoholic* from *chocolate* + *alcoholic* (e.g. Adams 2001: 138f.). Such new formations are used semantically in the sense ‘addict of X’, which is abstracted from the original ‘addict of alcohol’ (Lehrer 1998). If the truncated word, also called ‘splinter’, becomes productive the resulting blend may give rise to a combining form and finally a new affix.

Dictionaries and individual scholars differ considerably as to the classification of *-holic*. For example, Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006: 185) classify it as a combining form. Beard (1998: 57) also argues against the affixal status of *-holic*. He claims that *workaholic* and *chocaholic* are examples of “pseudo-derivations”, or analogous formations. As such, they differ from regular derivations in terms of prosodic requirements. According to Beard (ibid.), affixes can attach to stems of any length or prosodic structure “Pseudo-derivatives like *chocaholic*, however, must additionally fit the prosodic template of their analog, in this case, *alcoholic*: the output must contain four syllables with penultimate accent.” Kolin (1979) describes *-oholic* as a “pseudo-suffix”, whereas Shapiro (1984) sees it as a combining form. It is listed in *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* as a combining form as *-aholic* or *-oholic*, whereas the *OED Online* considers *-aholic*/*-(o)holic* a suffix. Green (1992) also classifies it as a suffix *-aholic*.

The examples above also demonstrate that there is no agreement as to the shape of the formative (regardless of its status). For some it is *-holic*, for others *-aholic* or *-oholic*. Algeo (1989: 258) argues that “a of *aholic* might reasonably be regarded as a linking vowel rather than a part of the formative.”

When we consider the relation of the source form, the resulting semantic structures can be seen either as co-hyponyms of the source word (Figure 7.1)

alcoholic, or its hyponyms (Figure 7.2). The former model has been proposed by Warren (1990); the latter by Lehrer (1998).

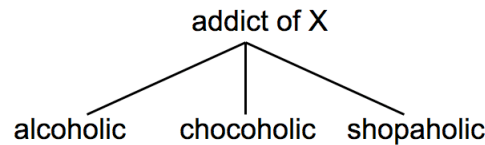


Figure 7.1: Semantic structure model for *-holic* (based on Warren 1990)

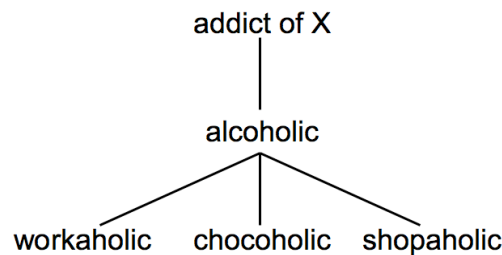


Figure 7.2: Semantic structure model for *-holic* (based on Lehrer 1998)

Warren (1990: 123) justifies the classification of these neologisms as co-hyponyms of the source word by saying that “*spendaholic* is not a type of alcoholic but a type of addict.” Lehrer (1998: 6) argues that “it is normal for the source morpheme to acquire a superordinate status.” Lehrer’s model assumes that all future *-holic* neologisms will be limited by the meaning of the input form. That is, in this model a workaholic is ‘a kind of alcoholic’. In Warren’s model workaholic is ‘a kind of addict’, the same way alcoholic is. In any case, both models are quite restrictive, as they do not allow for generalization, or development of the *-holic* formative; they limit it to either ‘kind of alcoholic’ or ‘kind of addict.’

The initial nonce-formations based on *alcoholic* were semantically restricted to various food and drink items where *-holic* “clearly suggests addition to alcohol and playfully applies the dangers of that vice to other less debilitating habits” (Kolin 1979: 74). Kolin (ibid.: 75) goes on to say that “Besides these vices of the palate (...) [o]ne can be addicted to almost anything, even to occupations and hobbies ordinarily regarded as harmless by society.” Shapiro (1984) ascribes the popularisation of the formative, and its spread to freely form new lexical combinations, to the coinage *workaholic*, which he calls “one of the most significant neologisms.” *Workaholic* contributed to expanding the semantic scope

of *-holic* formations. This attitude is also reflected in the *OED Online* which defines *-aholic* as a suffix based on *workaholic*. It also stresses the fact that the resulting neologisms are often colloquialisms that are “chiefly humorous nonce-words” denoting “one who appears to be addicted to the object, activity, etc., specified; a person subject to an inordinate craving for or obsession with (something).” *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* provides two senses: “one who feels compulsively the need to (do something)” and “one who likes (something) to excess”.

In my corpus there are fourteen instances of the suffix *-holic*. They are listed in (13) to (26).

- (13) adventure-holicness
For the first time yesterday, as I drove home at 4am in the frosty morn, my eyes glittered with the first real adventure-holicness that I used to feel. (B76)
- (14) blogaholic
Even if he does not actually blog himself, he still could be want is referred to within certain circles as a dry blogaholic. (B68)
- (15) book-a-holic
i admit. i am a book-a-holic. (B23)
- (16) branch-a-holic
It is a stunningly comprehensive paper, laying out 32 patterns (eight each for elements, creation, policy and structuring), then working through variations of a number of them, and ending with traps and pitfalls (13 of them, including merge-a-phobia, branch-a-holic, the never-ending branch, (B34)
- (17) candy-a-holic
candy-a-holic (B16)
- (18) choc-o-holic
Help! I'm spiraling out of control into a choc-o-holic bender. Chocolate covered strawberries are healthy, right? (B8)
- (19) code-aholic
Yes, I'm a code-aholic. (B15)
- (20) cyberholic
I'm a cyberholic... (B58)
- (21) drawaholic
The meeting just had to provide colored pencils, didn't it? I'm a drawaholic... and I went off the wagon today. I drew everything I saw, and then some... from a view outside the window, to a pirate ship (inspired by a crude version on a flipchart)... to the light fixtures, playdoh jars and even the pile of colored pencils themselves, (B58)

- (22) ebay-o-holic
Confessions of an ebay-o-holic
OK, I'm not a TOTAL eBay-o-holic, (B17)
- (23) learn-a-holic
I forgot - if you're a learn-a-holic like me, you might enjoy this site.
(B79)
- (24) magazin-a-holic
I write. And reading is complimentary to writing. And I am a magazine
whore. Opps, did I just say whore? I mean -holic. Like a magazin-a-
holic. Like an alcoholic but without the... (B78)
- (25) Sleepaholic
On a good note, I made a few bucks from the Euro B 2004 finals,
thanks to Sleepaholic who placed the bets for me. (B1)
- (26) worka-alco-toxo-holicism
But in Boston's case, its when he hears an old song play it has a
madalein effect, it...reminds him of that lost love that all men seem to
have, that feeling of LOSS that drives many to madness, to drink, to
worka-alco-toxo-holicism. (B77)

The form of the suffix varies in the examples. It is used in the base form as *-holic* in (13) and (20). In all remaining instances it is used with the linking vowel 'a' or 'o', which forms part of the suffix in (14), (19), (21), and (25), is a separate linking element in (15), (16), (17), (18), (22), (23), and (24), and is attached to the base in (26). The hyphenated spelling and the use of the linking 'o' instead of 'a' explain why *choc-o-holic*, which has been attested before, is identified as a neologism in my corpus.

The suffix attaches to both nouns and verbs, which sometimes creates ambiguity. For example, *blogaholic* (14) can be interpreted as 'a person addicted to (reading) blogs' or 'somebody who likes blogging (writing)' possibly to excess.

If we consider the prosodic requirements discussed by Beard (1998), the formations *adventure-holic* (13), *candy-aholic* (17), *ebay-o-holic* (22) and *magazin-a-holic* (24) do not apply the prosodic template of their analog, that is, the output contains more than four syllables. Violation of the prosodic restrictions outlined by Beard indicates that *-holic* is used as an affix, or at least is on its way to developing into one. Additional support for this view comes from the comparison of *ebay-o-holic* (22) and *cyberholic* (20). Had *ebay-o-holic* (22) not contained the linking element 'o', the neologism would have had the same prosody as *cyberholic* (20), and Beard's prosodic requirements would have been satisfied.

Semantically, only instances (17) and (18) allude to food, where both *candy* and *chocolate* carry potential undertones of guilt. The other instances all refer to other things, concepts and activities including those which are, as stated by Kolin (1979), neutral, harmless or even positive, such as ‘learning’ in *learn-a-holic* (23).

It is also significant that *adventure-holic* (13) and *work-a-lco-toxo-holic* (26) serve as input for further regular derivations in *-ness* and *-ism*, respectively.

The fact that the corpus contains fourteen examples of *-holic* derivations indicate that the suffix is still productive. I also looked for *-holic* derivatives in “Among New Words” (ANW), a regular column on neologisms published in *American Speech*, and the *OED Online*. I wanted to ascertain whether this productivity was noticed by established references. For both sources I restricted my search to recent publications. In ANW, I searched articles published between 2000 and 2007, and in case of the *OED*, the regular quarterly updates, spanning the period from June 2001 to September 2007. The only entry for a *-holic* derivative in ANW is *on-line-aholic*, in the Summer issue of 2001 (Glowka et al. 2001: 191):

on-line-aholic [*on-line* + *alcoholic*] *n* Person habituated to using the Internet to the extent that family, work, and other priorities are neglected
1996 Feb 28 Mark Patinkin *Houston Chronicle* 3 (Lexis-Nexis; head & text) Pull the plug, please! I’m an on-line-aholic / “MY name is Mark, and I’m an on-linea- holic [*sic*].” [¶] Hello, Mark. Welcome to O-A.

There are three instances of *-holic* derivatives in the data from the *OED Online*, namely *chocoholic* added in March 2002, *rageaholic* added in March 2003, and *infoholic* added in December 2003. *Chocoholic* and *rageaholic* are nouns and adjectives created by conversion, and *infoholic* is only a noun. All three nouns denote a kind of person. *Chocoholic* is defined as “A habitual and prolific eater of chocolate; esp. a person who is very fond of chocolate.” *Rageaholic* is “A person prone to extreme, freq. unprovoked, outbursts of rage”, and *infoholic* is “A person who feels compelled constantly to acquire information; a very keen and frequent researcher (now esp. on the Internet).” Interestingly, *infoholic* does not carry any of the negative or humorous connotations originally ascribed to *-holic* derivations.

The discrepancy among the numbers of *-holic* derivatives found in my corpus (fourteen), in ANW (one), and in the *OED Online* (three), does not invalidate my findings. In fact, any reference to new *-holic* coinages in these two external sources only strengthens my argument that the suffix is very much alive,

especially given the complex path a word goes through in order to be listed in a dictionary. Moreover, *-holic* derivatives have sometimes not been treated seriously, as manifested by Evans (1983). In his review of *Second Barnhart's Dictionary*, Evans questions the inclusion of terms deriving from popular combining forms, among others “-aholic (-holic, -oholic)” in the dictionary. According to him “Each of these may well have a sheaf of citations to support it, but most sound very much like nonce words, added chiefly for their curiosity value” (Evans 1983: 259). The high occurrence frequency of *-holic* derivatives in my corpus can also be explained by the observation that the language used in blogs is, for the most part, very colloquial, and *-holic* derivatives are prominent in colloquial language.

7.4 Observing institutionalisation

Formally, institutionalisation of a word manifests itself by the word being entered in the dictionary. Hohenhaus (2006) has suggested that the readiness of a word to serve as an input form for further new creations may also be considered as an indicator of institutionalisation. I would like to propose that institutionalisation may also be considered at the level of the individual user, as manifestations of familiarity with the term (regardless whether it is formally considered as institutionalised).

Of course, all neologisms filtered by Indiana are instances of formally non-institutionalised words. In this section I will attempt to characterise institutionalisation as manifested by the readiness of the neologism to serve as input for other new formations, and also the institutionalisation at the individual level. I will discuss the development of the morphological cognates based on the word *blog* and the neologisms acceptance patterns as manifested in my corpus.

7.4.1 Morphological cognates based on *blog*

After the noun *blog* was coined in 1999 as a clipped version of *weblog*, it was soon followed by the converted verb *to blog*. The word *blog* is an amazing success story resulting in institutionalisation with record-breaking speed. This issue has been discussed at length in section 3.3.2. One of the manifestations of institutionalisation is the ability of the new word to serve as input for other new coinages. Here I want to focus on exactly this aspect of the word *blog*.

Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006: 173) call *blog* “[a]n endlessly fascinating new coinage in the new world of cyberspace.” I agree entirely. Given its short life, the levels of productivity and creativity based on the word *blog* are impressive. Steinmetz and Kipfer (2006: 173f.) quote the following examples of expanding blogging vocabulary: *blogging*, *blogrolling*, *blogophiles*, *blogosphere*, *nom de blog*, *vlog*, *phlog*, and *splog*. Dent (2006) reports that Oxford language database includes “the recent finds” of *blogrolling*, *blogtopia*, *blogosphere*, *blogorama*, *blogtastic*, *blogemeinschaft*, and *bloggicane*. In my corpus there are over seventy new formations. Still, considering the size and time span of the corpus (the term was created in 1999 and my corpus covers the period 1998-2005) the formations present in the corpus must be only a small sample of the coinages based on *blog*. It is interesting, both morphologically and semantically, to see what kinds of new formations are based on *blog*. On the one hand this is a rare opportunity to observe a pragmatically conditioned rapid growth of morphological cognates. On the other, the kinds of new words that are coined on the basis of *blog* reveal the semantic development of new concepts.

New coinages are created by making use of a variety of available word-building patterns as well as by creative word play. Table 7.2 lists lexical variants of *blog*, formed by derivation and compounding.

anti-blog	blogging	blog-like	blogtrees
biblioblog	bloggings	blog-linker	blog-wise
biblioblogger	bloggerized	blogmania	blog-writer
blog-addict	blogger-run	blogmate	linkblog
blogads	bloggery	blogorama	mobblogging
blogage	bloggie	blogologist	moblog
bloggage	blogginess	blogparent	moblogging
blogaholic	bloggingly	blog-reading	newsblog
blogatron	bloggish	blog-related	non-blog
gameblog	bloggishness	blogroll	non-bloggers
blogbash	bloggy	blogrolled	outblogged
blogchalking	bloggy-land	blogrolling	photoblog
blog-crazed	blogistan	blogrolls	proto-blogger
blogdom	blogjam	blog-sitter	travelblog
blog-free	blog-keeping	blogspaces	videoblogging
blogger	bloglag	blogspotting	
bloggers	blogland	blogterms	

Table 7.2: Variation in productivity based on *blog*

The examples of *blog* derivations can be divided into ‘primary derivations’ and ‘secondary derivations’. In primary derivations, the affix attaches directly to the ‘root’. That is, to use the established morphological terminology (see Plag 2003: 10f.), ‘base’ and ‘root’ are identical in primary derivatives. In our case the word *blog* functions as both root and base for primary derivatives. Secondary derivations are affixations to bases that are morphologically complex, that is, the bases themselves are results of the application of word-building process(es).

Primary derivations are exemplified in my corpus by *anti-blog*, *blogage*, *bloggage*, *blogaholic*, *blogdom*, *blog-free*, *blogger*, *bloggers*, *blogging*, *bloggings*, *bloggery*, *bloggie*, *bloggish*, *bloggy*, *blogistan*, *blog-like*, *blogorama*, *blog-wise*, *non-blog*, and *outblog*. A range of available affixation patterns account for these derivatives. The coiners of these words have resorted to both prefixation and suffixation. In case of primary derivations, prefixation is represented by *anti-*, *non-* and *out-* and suffixation by the use of *-age*, *-holic*, *-dom*, *-free*, *-er*, *-ing* and *-ery*.

Secondary derivations are illustrated by *bloggerized*, *blogginess*, *bloggingly*, *bloggishness*, *blogologist*, *blogrolling* and *proto-blogger*. Apart from *proto-blogger*, all these instances are cases of suffixation, involving the following suffixes: *-ize*, *-ness*, *-ly*, *-ist* and *-ing*. One could also argue that *blogologist* is a case of primary derivation of *blog* plus the suffix *-ologist*. The context available in the corpus is not sufficient to dismiss this interpretation. Nevertheless, here I shall treat *blogologist* as a case of secondary derivation. *Biblioblogger*, *moblogging*, and *non-bloggers* are also secondary derivatives. They are structurally ambiguous, as they can be interpreted in two equally plausible ways. For example, *biblioblogger* as a secondary derivative can be a result of prefixation with a neoclassical element (*biblio-* + *blogger*), or of suffixation (*biblioblog* + *-er*), since both base forms and derivational patterns are attested in English.

In general, affixes may be used in ‘regular’ or ‘creative’ fashion. Regular usage refers to the established use of existing affixes, whereas by creative usage, I mean instances when an existing affix is used in a new, irregular way. ‘Regular usage’ covers affixes regardless of their degree of productivity, that is, the whole range of affixes, from very productive affixes such as *-er*, *-ness* and *non-* to marginally productive *-istan*, *-dom* and *proto-*, is included in this category.

Of the affixes used in primary derivation, *-age* seems to be the only affix used in a creative way. According to Marchand (1969: 234ff.), *-age* is a suffix

forming derivatives from nouns with the meaning of ‘condition’, ‘state’ and ‘collectivity of X’ as in *baronage*, *companionage* and so on. It may also form denominal derivatives with the sense ‘collectivity’, ‘system’, ‘material’ as in *flowerage*. Although derivatives in *-age* usually require nominal bases, Marchand also mentions occasional deverbal derivations with the general sense of ‘charge, fee connected with X’ as in *anchorage* and *storage*. He observes, however, that the most frequent derivatives are formed on nominal bases. Bauer (2001: 179f.) observes that *-age* has never been “particularly productive” and many of the words containing this suffix are in fact loans, and have become obsolete in English.

Let us look at how these categories apply to the instances of *-age* derivation from my corpus (27) - (29).

- (27) Community blogage! (B57)
- (28) Sorry for the short update, the lack of bloggage and blog reads. I'm still stuck in this phase. I feel rather cynical and quite unfriendly at the moment. (B8)
- (29) I'm not in the best writing mood at the moment. Hopefully this mood will lift and I'll be back to my daily bloggage (B8)

The word *blogage* appears in two orthographic versions, spelt with one or two ‘g’s, but we will ignore this fact, as it does not affect the analysis. The term has been used by two different bloggers (B8) and (B57), and in both cases the meanings and functions discussed by Marchand (1969) do not seem to apply here. The little context that is available still suggests that *bloggage* should be interpreted as the ‘action of blogging’ or ‘blog writing’. That is, “I will be back to my daily bloggage” in (29) can be paraphrased as ‘I will be back to my daily blogging’, analogous to ‘I will be back to my daily jogging/swimming’ or any other deverbal noun. This interpretation is reinforced by the explanation offered in the first sentence in the example, which alludes to “not the best writing mood”. Also, in example (28), *bloggage* seems to have been used in contrast with “blog reads”.

The suffix *-age* is used in a new, creative way here, as a deverbal, rather than a denominal, suffix which creates nouns with the sense ‘activity of X’, or ‘an instance of Xing’. *Bloggage* is not a one-off instance of the application of this pattern. In chapter 1, I have quoted an example of *pwnage* (‘ownage’). *Jargon File* (an online lexicon of hacker slang) contains several other instances of *-age* derivations, such as *flamage*, *lossage*, *mumblage*, *screwage*, *snippage*, *stoppage*,

and *winnage*. *Bloggage* appears to be an extension of the creative pattern originally used by hackers to create nouns from verbs.

When we consider secondary derivatives, that is: *bloggerized*, *blogginess*, *bloggingly*, *bloggishness*, *blogologist*, *blogrolling*, *biblioblogger*, *moblogging*, and *non-bloggers*, all coinages appear to be coined by regular word-building. For example, we have some well-established $[[\text{noun} + \text{-y}]_{\text{Adj}} + \text{-ness}]_{\text{N}}$ derivations, as in *blogginess*, and $[[[\text{noun}] + [\text{noun}]]_{\text{N}} + \emptyset]_{\text{v}} + \text{-ing}]_{\text{N}}$ derivations, as in *blogrolling* (where two nouns, *blog* + *roll*, first create a compound, which is subsequently converted into a verb, which in turn serves as input for *-ing* derivation). The only problematic case is the derived verb *bloggerize*, used here as the past participle in *get Bloggerized* (30). This appears to be a result of the creative formation of $[[\text{verb} + \text{er}]_{\text{N}} + \text{ize}]_{\text{v}}$. This pattern is not attested and the results of such a derivation would be, to say the least, semantically unnatural. Consider, for example, **writerize* or **cleanerize*. The suffix *-ize* creates verbs from nouns with the sense of ‘make’, ‘convert into’, or ‘put in the form of’, which in the case of *writerize* and *cleanerize* would mean ‘make into a writer/cleaner’, and for *bloggerize* ‘make into a blogger’. An alternative interpretation may be that it is a primary derivative based on *Blogger* - the name of the blogging software. The upper case of *Bloggerized* suggests that this might be a more accurate interpretation in this case. To *get Bloggerized* would then mean ‘to get listed or indexed by Blogger’.

(30) harrumph! gets Bloggerized! (B68)

To supplement the limited contextual illustration available in the corpus, I have tried to verify this second interpretation on the Web. I found two senses in which *bloggerize* and *get bloggerized* are used on other web-sites. One is indeed ‘to get indexed by Blogger’, but the other one, which is more commonly used, refers to being talked about or mentioned on blogs, or simply blogged about, or being turned into something that is useful for blogging. For example, a word-processing tool such as Microsoft Word can get bloggerized (adapted to be used for blogging purposes), conversations can be bloggerized (discussed on a blog), and so on.

Neologisms created through compounding (see Table 7.2) use the word *blog* in either head or modifier position. The latter type is used much more

frequently. The modifier position is illustrated by *blog-linker* in (31), ‘a kind of linker (who links to blogs)’ or *blogwriter* in (32), ‘a kind of writer (who writes blogs)’.

- (31) Here's what you annoyed blog-linkers have been waiting for: Automated permanent links to each post are now possible with Blogger (B68)
- (32) We all get our bad times, and some of you blogwriters go quiet then. (B102)

Newsblog (34), *photoblog* (33), and *travelblog* (35) are examples of new compounds with *blog* in the head position. All three can be classified as ‘kinds of blog’ where *news*, *photo* and *travel* take the position of modifiers.

- (33) Update: Sergei points to the Guardian newsblog, and of course, there is also the BBC. (B49)
- (34) Pictures to follow in the photoblog. (B51)
- (35) The interesting thing from a reader's perspective was noticing how the voice(s) of their travelblog changed. (B53)

Syntactically, the novel formations listed in Table 7.2 represent mainly nouns, adjectives and verbs. There is also one instance of adverbial derivation (*bloggingly*).

Derivation and compounding are not the only ways in which new morphological cognates based on the word *blog* may be formed. Table 7.3 presents examples of blends and various creative coinages with *blog* as an input. The decision to combine blends with creative coinages here is motivated by the fact that in many cases it is difficult to authoritatively decide which process is behind the formation of a particular neologism. Even when we consider words in Table 7.2, some neologisms, for example, *blog-sitter* and *bloglag*, appear to be motivated by analogous formations, here *baby-sitter* and *jetlag*, respectively. Therefore, they may well be classified as creative coinages.

ablogalypse	Bleg	bloggorrhoea	BLOGthenticity
ablogalyptic	blogalized	blogorrhoea	vlogumentary
A-blogs	bloggerific	blogosophical	
autoblography	bloggerrhea	blogosphere	

Table 7.3: Variation in creativity based on *blog*

The range of creativity is illustrated in examples (36) to (38).

- (36) I think this four horseman thing is horribly sexist. Sawicky patronizes Jane Galt as stupid but nice, not worthy of the righteous bile of the left. She can be just as ablogalyptic as the lads. (B64)
- (37) I may take the latter down; I put it up there planning on doing a little blegging so that I can afford to pay Lauren or someone to do a site redesign to accomodate the ads, but I am embarrassed about blegging and think, frankly, that it's pretty shitty to ask y'all to pay for my hobby, so instead I am fiddling around with templates and coding on a dummy blog I set up. (B49)
- (38) Nevertheless, out of recognition of the closeness we did once enjoy, Alan will continue to hold his place in my "These We Have Loved" section, the very Mount Rushmore of blogorrhoea. (B101)

Bleg (*blegging*) (37) and *blogorrhoea* (38) are instances of blends, and *ablogalyptic* (36) is a case of analogy. In (37), *blog* + *beg* have been fused to produce *bleg*, ‘begging on a blog’. Example (38) shows the result of blending *blog* (or *blogging*) + *diarrhoea*, possibly referring to ‘excessive, never-ending posting on a blog.’ The term *ablogalyptic* seems to be a play on the words *blog* + *apocalyptic*. All examples are, to a certain extent, morphologically transparent. That is, one or both input words can be relatively easily identified. This transparency is also enhanced by phonological and contextual clues. For instance, in example (37), *blegging* sounds almost like *begging* and there are other references to asking for support/money: “so that I can afford to pay”, “I am embarrassed about”, and “ask y'all to pay for my hobby”.

The final aspect that I will look at, briefly, in this section is the pragmatic need behind these *blog* neologisms. That is, with the appearance of new entities, new words are needed to talk about them. From the lexical point of view, the general function of word-building is naming, which results in expanding the lexicon. Kastovsky (1986) distinguishes two main functions of word-building “labelling” and “reference” but I do not apply this distinction here. Naming can also been done by morphologically creative means, but new concepts need not activate word-building or creative morphological means, as they can also be expressed in a descriptive way. In this light it is interesting to see which principal senses are represented by the term *blog*, as well as by the other concepts that have arisen from it.

Table 7.4 summarizes the principal sense groups that emerge from the morphological cognates of *blog*. The senses listed here are based on the data in Table 7.2 and Table 7.3. They span the whole range of naming needs from types of blogs, and persons, to negation.

<i>Principal sense</i>	<i>Examples in the corpus</i>
type	linkblog, moblog, photoblog
person (kind of)	blog-linker, blogger, blogaholic
place, collectivity	blogdom, blogosphere
activity (related to) instance of	blog-keeping, blogage, blogspotting
approximation, resemblance	bloggish, blog-like, bloggy
manner	blogterms, blogwise
qualifying	blogad, blog-crazed, blogger-run
negation and opposition	anti-blog, non-blog, blogless

Table 7.4: Principal sense groups for *blog* morphological cognates

7.4.2 Neologisms - attitudes and disambiguation

The novelty of a word may be analysed at two different levels: general language observation, often based on quantitative institutionalisation principle (for instance, whether the word is listed in a dictionary), and individual acceptance and dissemination patterns (seen as a manifestation of familiarity with the word). As blogs focus on communication and information sharing, and, in this respect, are similar to public discourse, the second kind of analysis can be extended to the anticipated (un)familiarity of the potential reader with the word.

Therefore, when discussing neologisms we have to consider three important aspects: the word itself, the blogger, and the reader. In other words, we have to ask the following questions:

- Is the word at the pre-institutionalisation level?
- Is the word part of the blogger's lexicon?
- Does the blogger expect the word to be part of the lexicon of the intended reader?

In my corpus, I have looked at the acceptance patterns of words already identified by Indiana as neologisms, that is, words at pre-institutionalisation level. To illustrate the different levels of acceptability, and the strategies used to signal it, I have selected the following neologisms from my corpus: *antihype*, *blogaholic*,

blogorrhoea, *celebutante*, *down-ness*, *destressedness*, *dragonology*, *dyndns*, *e-promos*, *explicature*, *fisk*, *meatspace*, and *nanoaudiences*.

7.4.2.1 Attitudes to neologisms

Let us first consider neologisms from the blog author's perspective, namely, is the word under consideration part of the author's lexicon? It is reasonable to assume that if the word is already accepted by the author, that is, it has become part of the blogger's language, it will not be marked in any way. Examples (39) and (40), illustrate this case.

- (39) *antihype*
Stowe Boyd has posted an interesting True Voice show about spreading blog antihype. Stowe recorded interviews during Les Blogs and I'm in the show with Darren Barefoot, Doc Searls and Lee Bryant. Interesting stuff. (B47)
- (40) *fisk*
Jones is also fisked by Jarvis and Ernie Miller (B6)

In both cases no distancing strategies are used, and the novel words are not marked in any way. Note that, at first glance, the use of *fisk* and *antihype* do not seem to follow the same acceptance pattern. This is evident if we look at the text in the original layout. The word *fisk* is additionally hyperlinked (see Figure 7.3).

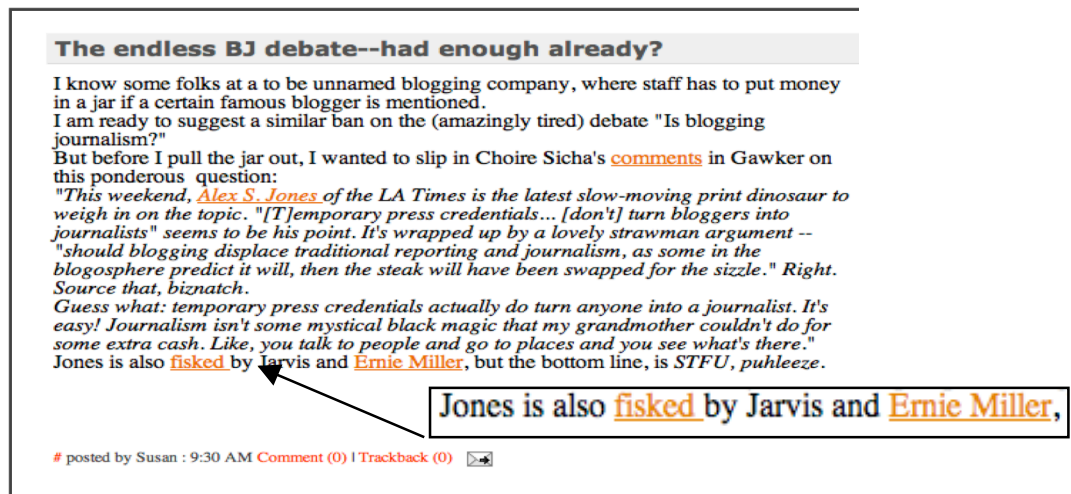


Figure 7.3: Acceptance pattern for *fisk*

Yet, upon following the hyperlink, instead of finding a definition or explanation we go to the actual web-page where the action of John being fisked by Jarvis and Ernie Miller takes place.

In the corpus the lack of explicit marking, quite unsurprisingly, is rather frequent. This commonly applies to cases that are morphologically and semantically more transparent, as in example (39).

The blogger may introduce various distancing-strategies to mark a word as either new to her lexicon, or as one she has not accepted (yet), or both. These strategies can be labelled as either ‘implicit’ or ‘explicit’ strategies. Implicit strategies are those where the marking is relatively subtle. One implicit strategy is to base new words on pattern repetitions, or using lexical prompting (that is, a word in a pre-derived/base form appearing first). (41) and (42) illustrate these cases, respectively.

- (41) down-ness
This is a belated post due to the busy-ness of the schedule and the down-ness of the blogger. (B57)
- (42) destressedness
This day, so far, has been working incredibly hard to distress me. And so far, it's worked. However, the 5:30 - 7 Carmina rehearsal back to back with 7 - 8:30 play practice is forcefully working to undo earlier destressedness. (B57)

The use of hedges is considered an explicit strategy. Hedges are metalinguistic comments that manifest themselves in various ways in my corpus. The blogger may simply state that a concept is new, such as “new field” in (43). Another strategy is to use impersonal distancing as in “sometimes labelled as” in (44), and “what is referred to within certain circles” in (45). The blogger may also personalize the hedge by assigning the coining to a particular person as in “he coins” in example (46). In (48) a neologism is openly marked “an interesting new word/phrase, I haven't come across before”. The blogger can also directly provide a negative assessment of a word coined by somebody else. In (47) the blogger not only writes: “I never heard the word” but also adds that he prefers a different term, and calls the new formation “icky”. In the same vein, *explicature* is labelled as an “obscure word” in example (49).

- (43) dragonology
New field of study: Dragonology (B52)
- (44) dyndns
Dynamic DNS is sometimes labeled as **dyndns**. This is fun. (B57)
- (45) blogaholic

opps, meant to write:..., he still could be *what* is referred to within certain circles as a dry blogaholic. (B68)

- (46) e-promos
The writer writes about a phenomena, he coins (?) e-promos. (B51)
- (47) meatspace
Interesting terminology in that article. I've never heard the word "meatspace", before. I prefer the acronym "RL" (Real Life). "Meatspace" sounds ... kind of icky. (B85)
- (48) nanoaudiences
The summary of the Perseus Blog Survey presents an interesting new word/phrase, I haven't come across before: nanoaudiences. The word is used to describe the fact (according to Perseus) that most blogs only have few and select readers, far less than a masscommunication medium. (B51)
- (49) explicature
I typed in one of those obscure words (explicature) and I was indeed impressed by the 189 results generated (although I was also impressed by the 296 results from google). (B59)

Explicit strategies often combine several ways of marking a word. In example (43) the hedge is accompanied by a hyperlink that points to a definition and illustration page. In example (44) the hedge is followed by the new word highlighted in bold print. In fact, the distance can also be introduced by punctuation or any set of typographical devices used in CMC such as font-type, colour, size, spacing, and so on. Hedges can be combined with typographical devices as in (50), where, apart from the bold print and inverted commas, the new word is hedged by “here’s an even more annoying one” and “Fox coined it”.

- (50) celebutante
here's an even more annoying one: "**celebutantes**," to describe wealthy young women who are famous for being wealthy and young. (Fox coined it for their show "The Simple Life," in which hotel heiress Paris Hilton and Lionel Richie's improbably blonde daughter Nicole take the incredibly daring step of living on [gasp!] a farm for several weeks.) (B88)

Most neologisms in my corpus show high levels of acceptability at the level of the individual, that is, many neologisms in the corpus are not marked in any way. The fact that this is not surprising is due mainly to the definition of “neologism” used in the context of this project. For our purposes, any word in the corpus that is not available in the two external references used is considered a neologism.

7.4.2.2 Disambiguation

In CMC, language use is predominantly interactive. In the blogging environment, where the life of a blog (essentially a public broadcast) largely depends on readership, the blogger might take specific measures to negotiate a common ground, and reduce the processing effort and miscommunication. This is even more understandable if we note that, as in the case of radio/TV broadcasts or newspapers, the blogger has extremely limited information about the audience, so that, in order to communicate efficiently, he might make extra effort in establishing common ground. The blogger is likely to use strategies already well established in journalism or literature.

We can imagine the following situations. If the word is not new to the blogger or if he himself coined the word, he may leave it unmarked, as in examples (39) and (40). He may also mark it using implicit strategies as in examples (41) and (42). Example (51) illustrates the extreme case where the dictionary-like definition, including part-of-speech (POS) information, is given for a word newly coined by the blogger before the word is actually used in context.

- (51) blogorrhoea
Blogorrhoea (n): Psychic condition occasioned by global condition, occasioning bouts of public whimpering and fulmination. (B90)

If the word is new, the roles of the blogger and reader often overlap, in the sense that if a word is unknown to the blogger she might assume it will also be new to the reader, and so she may use explicit strategies not only to distance herself but also to aid the decoding process of the reader. This additional help can come in a variety of forms, such as an explanation (47), providing the origin of the expression (44), or a direct translation when a foreign word is used. Explanations are also frequently used to disambiguate abbreviations. Such disambiguation is especially necessary for abbreviations that may stand for multiple input forms. This is particularly true for blogger created abbreviations such as *E.S.B.C* in (52).

- (52) E.S.B.C. (Excellent Simpsons Based Conversation) (B57)

Disambiguation can also take the form of explicit marking of the elements that should be perceived as a lexical unit. In case of compounds and phrases, hyphenation is typically employed for this purpose. Hyphenated phrases are illustrated in my corpus by, *been-there-done-that* (B8) and *ever-more-profitable*

army (B87). The hyphenation strategy is particularly frequent in situations when a compound takes the role of a modifier in a larger structure, as in *ratings-grabbing devices* (B12), *reality-challenging moments* (B24), *anime-horror genre* (B42), *barrel-scraping formula films* (B93), *bat-brained idiocy* (B7), and *technology-enhanced backchannel* (B87).

7.5 Summary

In this chapter we looked at lexical change in progress, through specific case studies of innovation, spread and manifestations of institutionalisation.

The spread of a word is a complex and often very long process. That is, a word may circulate in a language for some time, and thus become part of the lexicon for many users, before it reaches formal institutionalisation. Very few words demonstrate quick status-change from nonce-formation status to a word listed in a dictionary (examples of such words are *blog* and *bouncebackability*, discussed in chapter 3).

I have also provided examples to demonstrate one of the contributing factors in the interpretation of the novel word, namely, the analysis of new formations at the level of an individual speaker. We looked at the acceptability of the novel word, and the expected unfamiliarity of the potential reader with the new formation, from the perspective of the blogger.

The next chapter provides a summary of the work presented in this thesis, and highlights some of the most significant conclusions that can be drawn from the results discussed in this chapter and in chapter 6.

8. Conclusion

In the past two decades, the Internet has dramatically influenced the way we live, work, socialize, and communicate. Writing about the Late Modern English period, Herring (2003) notes that social and cultural changes in mobility, literacy, and mass communication have had an unprecedented effect on the language. The rapid changes currently taking place in the English language have prompted some scholars (e.g., Crystal 2001a and 2001b, Randall 2002, Ross 2006) to claim that the ongoing technological revolution is also a language revolution, and that we are witnessing a new stage of language development – 21st century English. According to Randall (2002: 11), “It’s possible that Late-Modern English is already outdated as a category. Given the preponderance of the language of technology and the world-wide dissemination of all forms of today’s English, perhaps a new category is in order.”

The goal of this study was to investigate the most recent changes in language. I was specifically interested in lexical innovation on the Internet as exemplified by neologisms in English language blogs. Moreover, I wanted to observe language change in progress, rather than past change. In this chapter, I summarize the work reported in this thesis. I also review the most significant findings and discuss their implications for neology studies, as well as their significance for research in lexical change and change in progress in general. I conclude with some suggestions regarding possible directions for future research.

8.1 Summary

Every language provides various mechanisms for extending the lexicon. As noted in chapter 2, neologisms can arise through root creation, borrowing, semantic change, and word-building. Root creation involves creating new words *ex nihilo*, that is, without morphological motivation. A neologism may be created via borrowing, that is, taken over from another language. Borrowing may take the form of a loan (when a borrowed form retains its original lexical form) or a calque (when it is translated). Both words and word-building formatives can be borrowed.

Semantic change does not involve a new form, and refers to cases when the meaning of an existing word is modified. Lastly, word-building creates new words with the help of existing mechanisms such as derivation, compounding, blending, clipping, back-formation, abbreviation, conversion and eponymy. In this thesis, I have used the general term ‘word-building’ to refer to these processes, because the more common label ‘word-formation’ is often ambiguous.

Creating new words is neither difficult nor uncommon. Many new words are created every day. Some of them are used only once, others may attract more users, and still others reach frequencies high enough to earn them a firm place in the general lexicon. More often than not, words that become part of the general lexicon eventually get recorded in established dictionaries. As Maxwell (2006a) puts it “Perhaps the greatest accolade for any new word, is its formal recognition through entry into a dictionary. For many, the perception is that any word which has gained enough currency to be officially recorded is a ‘proper’ word, here to stay for the use of future generations.” Chapter 3 focuses specifically on neologisms. The complete process in the development of a word is referred to as the ‘life cycle’ of the word, and the three main stages from coining to being entered in an established reference are called actuation, spread, and institutionalisation. Most new words never proceed beyond the actuation stage.

In chapter 3, I have also reviewed the standard approaches to studying neologisms from lexicographic and linguistic perspectives. This provides the background and context for the research done in this project. Although the standard approaches to neologisms are, to a large extent, complementary, a number of questions still remain unanswered.

Lexicographers focus on the development of new lexical patterns taking place in the language. A word may enter the dictionary only after it has gained high circulation and is well established in the lexicon, and satisfies a set of rigid lexicographic selection criteria. Diamond (n.d.), a member of the Oxford English Dictionary team responsible for recording and drafting new words, explains what it takes for a word to be entered in the *OED*. First, a range of contemporary material from throughout the English speaking world, for example novels, TV scripts, newspapers, magazines, are searched for new words. Next, selected candidates have to stand the test of frequency of occurrence, time span and variety of sources.

“A rule of thumb is that any word can be included which appears five times, in five different printed sources, over a period of five years.”

Morphologists, on the other hand, usually focus on the new words through the productivity of one selected pattern or formative. Productivity research tries to determine the potential of a particular process or affix for creating new forms. For example, a study may focus on selected derivational patterns and their structural properties, as well as formal restrictions curbing their application. Typically, such interest is in regular processes, well established in the language. Contrary to the lexicographic approach, in productivity studies there is no established procedure for identifying new words. For a long time “neologisms” were identified in dictionaries, by comparing successive editions of the same dictionary. However, although this approach works for lexicographers, for linguistic research such words can only be considered past neologisms, as they have already reached the level of institutionalisation.

Both approaches also tend to marginalize the role of individual users in the creation of neologisms.

In chapter 4, I have looked at the Internet as a factor motivating language change, as well as a vehicle for change. The general perception about language use on the Internet is that it is abundant in neologisms. In this context, the term “neologism” is often used to refer exclusively to new words that are Internet-specific, for example, *email*, *netizen*, or *webmaster*. Here, the role of the Internet is perceived as a factor motivating lexical change. More significantly, however, the Internet also acts as a vehicle for change. That is, not only Internet-specific neologisms but also neologisms not related to computing technology emerge or manifest themselves on the Internet. In chapter 4, I have also demonstrated that the Internet accelerates change by increasing the speed and range of dissemination of information, and thereby, of language dissemination, and redefining language geographical barriers.

To observe lexical innovation on the Internet I have restricted my research to blogs, one of the most popular genres of Internet based communication. As discussed in chapter 5, blogs combine aspects of personal communication (in terms of content, production and interactivity options) with aspects of mass communication (in terms of delivery). Blogs are dynamic web-pages where the author, a blogger, posts content of various types (text, photos, videos, sound files)

on any subject, with arbitrary regularity (although, in general, blog-readers expect frequent updates of their favourite blogs) and makes it publicly available. Nowadays, only a few years after their emergence, blogs are very common. In fact, it is no longer just fashionable to have a blog, it is often imperative to have one (e.g., for politicians). The most popular blogs are also very influential, and some bloggers attract audiences on a par with traditional mass media.

How are blogs relevant to language change, and to lexical change in particular? Bloggers can express themselves without middlemen and moreover invite others to participate in a conversation. This freedom of expression in blogs promotes change. Even if we treat blogs as examples of creative fictional writing, they are still samples of writing restricted only by the blogger, as the usual regulating filters present in the traditional media, such as editors, publishers and so on, are here cumulated in one person – the blogger – who makes all decisions.

Blogs are a medium of communication where all content is archived, therefore they are a useful, easily retrievable, source of data for the study of lexical change. They offer access to unprecedented amounts of naturally occurring language that is stored, recorded, and even dated. Moreover, if the blogger discloses personal information, we can even construct a pretty detailed picture of every individual language user.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide quantitative and qualitative analysis of the findings of this research work. This is discussed in detail in section 8.2.

8.2 Findings and implications

For the study of lexical neology that is presented in this thesis, I have compiled a corpus of more than a million words from a set of arbitrarily selected blogs. The corpus spans the period from 1998 to 2005 and consists of 105 blog samples of 10000 words each. This corpus is sufficiently large for the scope of the project, but it is small when compared to corpora used in some other studies.

The methodology used in this work combines existing comparative and corpus methods. The problems of identifying neologisms based on small-sized corpora are well known. On the other hand, using only a dictionary as a reference source both in the case of very creative and very regular formations may prove insufficient, as exactly these are the formations that tend to get overlooked. To

avoid such omissions, I decided to use the BNC corpus as the primary external reference, and a dictionary as a secondary reference. For this work, a computerized tool, which combines a database with a series of filters, has been specially designed to overcome the shortcomings of neology research in a small corpus.

The concept of newness can be fairly complex. To look for neologisms in my corpus, I use a specific definition of the term ‘neologism’.

Using blogs to construct the corpus has another advantage. As discussed before, simply using a dictionary would probably give a conservative view of language change. Also, dictionaries do not allow us to observe change in progress, only past change. The English language is changing faster than the dictionaries can record it. Modern dictionary making methods are based on large corpus studies (e.g., the Oxford English corpus contained two billion words as of 2006), and dictionaries themselves issue frequent updates between editions. Nevertheless, in dictionaries, as discussed, neologisms tend to be added after a test of, for example, a 5-year period, and rare words might get ignored altogether.

In this work, my intention has not been to compete with dictionaries or invalidate them. Dictionaries record words that have become sufficiently frequent. My work has been focussed on what individual users do - what language mechanisms they employ to create new words, and, how they get creative. Rather than observing patterns authenticated by the norm, I wanted to observe neologisms coined and used by ordinary people. Whether the words they use and create (I have made no distinction between these two aspects) will ever reach the institutionalisation level, was not of concern in this work. The data and the methodology used in this work have made it possible to look at levels of language and frequencies of word use that were not considered before. Consequently, I have been able to identify a variety of types of neologisms, ranging from those that are formed on very productive patterns to those that are the result of creative formations. I have also been able to observe new words in the initial stages of their life-cycles, including nonce-formations that may never be used again.

The results of this study (i.e., the neologisms I have found in my corpus) have greatly exceeded my expectations. My findings show that new words have been created via the whole array of word-building processes, borrowing, semantic shift and even instances of root creation, a very rare process. There are also instances of very transparent and regular, as well as marginally productive,

processes. This indicates that bloggers do not have a particular preference for a certain process (e.g., abbreviation, which is so typical for SMS or Internet-chat communication), but in fact utilize all the lexical extension patterns available in the language.

Moreover, the corpus also contains neologisms that defy traditional classifications. For example, I found several instances of neologisms that would best be classified as analogical formations. Another interesting group of neologisms in my corpus consists of lexical phrases, that is, new items that are larger than words but show characteristics of both words and syntactic phrases. There are also instances of creative use of affixes not authenticated by the norm, that is, affixes violating language-internal regulating mechanisms. Such cases only confirm that although language-internal regulating mechanisms may be used to explain why certain terms do not get coined, they cannot be used as absolute norms that actually prevent people from coining such terms.

There are still other neologisms in the corpus that cannot be classified into classical word-building categories. These are characterised by the innovative use of letters and numbers, phonetic respellings, and number homophones. They are typical manifestations of Internet jargon. By Internet jargon I mean, not just terms related to the Internet, but also terms that are predominantly used only on the Internet (or in CMC). Internet jargon often exhibits great creativity. In my list of neologisms there are several examples which involve the replacement of letters by numbers, such as, ‘o’ is frequently replaced by ‘0’, or ‘e’ by ‘3’. Sometimes the order of letters is also changed. So, for example, we get *pr0n* or *n0rp* to mean *porn*. These are cases of leet-speak, which is hackers’ jargon used on the Internet. Apart from these orthographic neologisms the corpus also contains leet-influenced words that are instances of coinage neologisms, as they are new, both morphologically and semantically.

One such example in my corpus is the neologism *W00t*. At first glance this formation does not seem to have the potential to enter mainstream vocabulary. As discussed in chapter 6, *w00t* functions as an interjection used to express happiness. The word originated in the online gaming community. Therefore, the fact that the word has already entered the bloggers’ vocabulary is an amazing sign of the spread of the word. To my greatest surprise, *w00t* was selected “the word of the year 2007” by *Merriam-Webster* (on December 11, 2007). *Merriam-Webster* defines

w00t as an interjection used to express joy “it could be after triumph, or for no reason at all.” The dictionary also offers the (etymological) explanation of the term that I was unable to trace before.

This year's winning word first became popular in competitive online gaming forums as part of what is known as l33t ("leet," or "elite") speak—an esoteric computer hacker language in which numbers and symbols are put together to look like letters. Although the double "o" in the word is usually represented by double zeroes, the exclamation is also known to be an acronym for "we owned the other team"—again stemming from the gaming community.

(www.m-w.com/info/07words.htm)

For the purposes of this research, I have used a very unrestrictive definition of a word: a word is any combination of letters (and numbers) delimited by spaces. It is crucial to note that this definition of a ‘word’ is what has enabled me to detect such creative coinages as mentioned above. However, Indiana, the software tool to detect potential neologisms in the corpus, highlights the drawbacks of this simple definition. Going by this definition, Indiana selected many character-strings of the type *08.a.m.* or *March12* (which are particularly frequent in blogs, as most entries are time coded). Such words had to be processed manually. In fact, the initial list of potential neologisms generated by the software contained over 13,000 character-strings. Besides the kinds of strings mentioned above, the list also contained Saxon-genitives, plurals, proper-names, misspellings, web-addresses, and so on. The list was reduced to 1,067 neologisms, by manual filtering.

In my corpus, 89% of the neologisms each occur in only a single blog and approximately 77% of the neologisms occur only once in the entire corpus. This indicates that a majority of neologisms in my corpus are still at the stage of nonce-formations or in the early stages of spread. Roughly 7% of all new types occur more than five times in the corpus and 3.5% of the new types can be found in more than five blog samples each. Many new types within these 3.5% are probably in the process of institutionalisation, or have already been institutionalised.

As reported in chapter 6, the number of neologisms found in individual blog samples varies from 3 to 49. The median value for neologisms in a blog sample is 20. What is unexpected is the fact that every single sample contains some neologisms, in fact at least 3. As mentioned before, the various kinds of CMC usually invite connotations of Internet-specific neologisms. This prompted

me to investigate the distribution of Internet-specific and Internet-neutral neologisms separately, in the corpus. Less than 40% of all new types found in the corpus are Internet-specific neologisms. Interestingly, 19 of the 20 most frequent neologisms in the corpus are Internet-specific words. We also see a clear correlation between the total number of neologisms per sample, and the number of Internet-specific neologisms per sample.

The data and methodology used in this research make it possible to observe change in progress, and to mark the various stages of a word's life cycle – innovation, spread and institutionalisation – as they are actually taking place. I have illustrated this with case studies on naming competition, emergence of new patterns, spread and development of an affix, the emergence of morphological cognates based on a neologism as the input form. Hohenhaus (2006) says that the “reception of real words by real speech communities in the real world – remains largely unobservable directly”. In my project, I was able to directly observe the degrees of individual acceptance towards neologisms.

Given the findings of this research, let us look again at the questions raised in chapter 1:

- Does the Internet affect language regulation mechanisms?
- Are the neologisms coined on the Internet Internet-specific?
- Can innovation on the Internet be an indication of the language change in general?

Let me briefly sum up the answers.

People coin new terms all the time, and there is no centralized authority regulating the rights of individuals to coin new words. However, some terms achieve significant levels of spread and eventually become institutionalised, while others remain nonce-formations. The Internet plays a major role in accelerating the spread of certain new coinages. In the case of blogs, it also shifts the gate-keeping mechanisms by reducing the filtering and editing mechanisms to the self-editing done by a blogger who plays the role of writer, editor, and publisher all at the same time.

All sorts of new words are coined and used on the Internet. However, there are very few situations when the actual first coinage can be observed. More frequently, what we can observe is multiple instances of coining and re-coining of the same word by different people. For the most part the authorship and the first

coinage is of marginal importance. Another significant point to note is that not all new words found on the Internet are Internet-specific. In fact, most of the terms found in my corpus are not Internet-specific neologisms. Many of the new words, however, are instances of colloquialisms that are not normally found in other forms of written language.

The Internet, here represented by blogs, redefines the roles and the distribution of power – it gives ordinary language users the ability to become mass media content producers, and it provides them with the means of dissemination comparable (in terms of reach) to those available to traditional mass media outlets. In chapter 1, I gave the example of *bacn*, a colloquialism coined in August 2007. Just 4 months later, it was nominated for ‘the word of the year’ competition organized by the American Dialect Society in the ‘most useful’ category.

Nowadays, innovation on the Internet, at least at the lexical level, is a strong indication and reflection of changes taking place in language in general. Though some of the new formations are Internet-specific, most are, in fact, not related to the Internet; the Internet, like books, newspapers, television and radio before, simply serves as a tool for accelerated dissemination.

8.3 Future research

Blogs are a fascinating source of data for any linguistic research area. They reflect the changes taking place in language, and also make it possible to chart these changes more easily than before by making a plethora of data readily available in an electronic format on the Internet. Unlike other types of CMC, which are more transient, blogs, akin to print publications, once written, are archived and available on the Web. There are a few blogs in my corpus that are no longer active (i.e., they have not been updated in several months), yet all their entries are still accessible.

One logical extension of my work would be to look at the characteristics of individual bloggers, for example, gender, age, educational status, and socio-cultural background, and see how these factors might influence the choice of processes used for creating neologisms and the attitudes towards novel formations expressed by bloggers. With appropriate extension, Indiana, the software tool developed in this project, can be used for that purpose.

Detailed spread patterns of novel lexical items could also be traced. The blogosphere is an interlinked network of blogs where it is relatively easy to see how the blogs are interlinked. This offers an opportunity to trace dissemination patterns of individual lexical items.

Lastly, it would also be interesting to analyse other aspects of the language used in blogs. Going by the corpus at hand, the written language in blogs seems to be more speech-like: more spontaneous, less controlled and fairly informal. For example, bloggers usually do not bother to correct typographical errors. I found several hundred misspelled words, where letters were jumbled, missing, repeated, and so on. Sentences are often fragmented, frequently ending in ellipses, and words are also often joined by ellipsis. Punctuation seems to be used in an arbitrary fashion – some bloggers rigidly follow written language standards, whereas some others do not even bother with upper case letters, commas, full stops and so on. Punctuation and letter replication are often employed to mark prosody. There are also several other types of prosodic markers in my corpus, namely, capitalisations, line spacing, hesitations, and exclamations. Additionally, various interjections and discourse particles (often also prosodically marked), for example, *uh...*, *uhhhhhh*, *uh-oh*, *uh-huh*, *ugh*, *ugghhh*, *uggggghhhh*, *mmm*, *mmmmmm*, and *mmmphy*, are also common in the blogging entries.

Nowadays, it is not only fashionable to have a blog, it is often imperative to have one (e.g., for politicians). Blogs, through the communicative potential they offer, have also managed to attract linguists and people passionate about language but this time in the role of authors. Some interesting blogs discussing various aspects of language include *DCblog*, a blog by David Crystal, and *Language Log*, a blog run by Mark Liberman with regular contributions from other linguists such as Arnold Zwicky, Geoffrey K. Pullum and Geoff Nunberg, among others (a book based on these blog entries was published in 2006).

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Appendix

This appendix contains the list of all potential neologisms generated by Indiana. This list contains only those neologisms that remained after manual filtering stage described in chapter 6.

The information is presented in the following order:

1. the word is given first,
2. followed by selected excerpts extracted from a blog containing the word, for illustrative purposes, and finally,
3. the reference code for the blog.

In the excerpts the original spelling and punctuation is preserved.

20sixer

...me being in the club, with a 20sixer swinging crazily from this massive swing attached to the ceiling... (B108)

4chaning

<justino> there aren't really image-driven search engines

<Vince> I see someone's 4chaning.

<justino> you can try to identify objects in the image and then search good images for them (B87)

aaring

Some of the moves and stunts were pretty amazing and looked very dangerous. There were lots of accidents and I think the danger of it all made it very entertaining for the crowd. I found myself joining in with the 'ooing' and the 'aaring' from the crowd whenever anything bad or exciting happened. (B104)

abbreviation-friendly

I'm fascinated by the growth, morphing, and over-use of clever shorthands. For example, those country oval stickers that started in Europe to identify a car's country of origin, and can now be seen everywhere signifying anything (I myself have a "FOO" oval on my car). Or the I?NY bumper stickers that were adapted to all sorts of affections, abbreviation-friendly or not. (B34)

Abdulgate

Furthermore, it has tasty and informative introductory essays on "Inside Baseball," "The -Gate to Scandal" (which ends with a list of dozens of such formations, from Abdulgate to Zippergate), (B97)

abit

We tried to just float around,

because it is better to stay in the water, than in the boat. It did not help abit.

I thought their songs might be abit slow to be played live and on the largest scene, but they did extremely well. (B10)

Ablogalypse

Not only did he think that it would be insulting to call Glenn Reynolds, Steven Den Beste, Andrew Sullivan, and Charles Johnson "the Four Horsemen of the Ablogalypse" -- something that backfired (see this post for more) -- he gave Jane Galt the oh-she's-just-a-girl male chauvinist treatment more thoroughly than any conservative male ever could. (B64)

ablogalyptic

Joanne Jacobs commented here: I think this four horseman thing is horribly sexist. Sawicky patronizes Jane Galt as stupid but nice, not worthy of the righteous bile of the left. She can be just as ablogalyptic as the lads. (B64)

A-blogs

However, listing "A-List" bloggers (such a list included in LeMeur's suggestion for what a national entry should include) might be a risky project, seeing that it is difficult to prevent it from being a somewhat subjective and varying list of "cool blogs" as seen by various individual contributors. Unless one decides to go for quantitative A-blogs and decide to rank them solely according to the number of times, they are linked from other blogs and the number of daily hits they have. Would people be willing to share this info - and would we really like to have it? (B51)

above-par

Some weeks were slow and the group would be more intimate, but ultimately everyone just kept coming, if only to see if the photos taken of them from last week were being projected onto the walls. Not to mention that the chicken was above-par and the bar was always open. (B78)

abstract-expressionist

Actually today here in Erdenet I was sitting in a cafe doing school work and happened to notice three amazing oil paintings on the walls. They were all three very dark abstract-expressionist, based on landscape by the looks of it, which is typical of Mongol art. (B112)

accurates

I am however, on the "fast accurate" side of things in regard to objective test taking. The same study mentioned above says that "fast accurate" is impulsive, but also defines "fast accurates" as "good guessers." (B88)

achanging

Australia once again secure in its capacity democratically to affect and manage inevitably changing circumstances (for let's not forget the times have always been achanging, and Australia ever with them) would show an altogether different face. (B90)

a-courtin'

On the drive home from work today, NPR talked to us about fireflies. Specifically, the femme fatale firefly, who blinks at her own species' frequency just long enough to find a mate, and then switches to the frequency of another kind of firefly. When those guy fireflies come a-courtin', she eats them. (B2)

addatop

we went to an Italian restaurant addatop of the Podium, whence we consumed more alcohol and food and got the bus to uni for African Carribbean night (B76)

addictionfascination

Loren Webster has taken his new addictionfascination with PhotoShop (B72)

addleheaded

...naked advertising presented as infotainment (how do they make Milk Duds? We need a half hour on this!) or simple addleheaded travelogue tripe... (B92)

ad-free

The new site will be ad-free (until I decide to whore myself to thinkgeek or some lame porn site), (B25)

administrativa

I created a public, invitation-only group for the USC IMD. Then I tried to invite everyone in. I was running the window that was publicly viewable, so all this administrativa was popping up and running over the chat scroll (B87)

a-drifting

All a-drifting, he's a nogood boyo (B106)

adventure-holicness

For the first time yesterday, as I drove home at 4am in the frosty morn, my eyes glittered with the first real adventure-holicness that I used to feel. (B76)

advergaming

A short Danish article in the online mag Bitconomy on amongst other items, advergaming (B51)

adware

Alerted by mike to a possible spyware threat emanating from the Big Blogger server, I did my research yesterday, and quite quickly discovered a spyware/adware solution which is completely free. (B101)

ad-wielding

I think that the "brand" warriors and the post above make the same, common mistake: they think of markets as something very like the ones described in John Kenneth Galbraith books, where consumers are but the hapless, unknowing cattle herded by ad-wielding corporations to the slaughter (B62)

ad-words

Revenue could come from ad-words, and as suggested by Johnnie Moore, donations, and speaking gigs. (B38)

affordance / affordances

We have found a handful of examples where visualization is used on the web, but nothing widespread or even statistically significant... just a few pioneers exploring a (mostly) beautiful affordance of the web. (B3)

This should be a very exciting project that tests the different affordances of several types of blogging media such as photo blogging and audio blogging, etc. (B3)

A central issue concerns the medium specific options for interaction relevant for the embodied human communicator, that is, its affordances. (B60)

Nowhere will this return to the affordances of handwriting become more marketable than in the mobile phone space.(B80)

afk

I've been afk for a while, attending the DIGRA conference in Vancouver. (B51)

afrophile

(My thanks for the link to afrophile, whose Africa-oriented blog is an excellent place to go for information and links about Darfur and other areas in the news.) (B97)

afterparty

Fun night...and tonight after you all go to prom, I get to go to the afterparty in a limo! (B57)

aggregator / aggregators

Now that I have been looking at it, reading a lot, and even downloaded my own aggregator, I wonder if this new medium(aggregators-not RSS in itself) is not stealing some of the heart from blogging. (B3)

I read only the bare minimum of e-mail, never browsed the web, used a search engine, or once looked at my RSS aggregator. (B44)

air-con

The property has newly renovated interior, new kitchen, air-con on both floors, new security system, 5-10 mins walk to shop, school and train station. (B84)

airconsummation

As we were swimming around down there, being proud of my low airconsummation, I forgot all about time. (B10)

air-rage

Two flight attendants have attacked a passenger in an unprecedented case of reverse air-rage, according to Russia's leading airline. (B63)

Airzooka

My co-worker Damien arrived at work yesterday carrying what looked like a small black wastebasket, and shot me with it. It was an Airzooka, an odd-looking device which shoots air. It works on the same principle as smoke rings, but more forcefully. (B34)

Ajaxian

2005In case you aren't in the web design field, or have been living under a rock, there's this implementation technique called Ajax, an acronym for Asynchronous Javascript And Xml. Google Maps is its best-known showcase, providing a great fluid experience that does all sorts of things that sites like Mapquest and MSN Maps can't do (dragging, resizing, etc). Now we have Ajaxian Blog, a blog devoted to all things Ajax. (B34)

alcohol-fueled

So I hope everyone has an excellent alcohol-fueled weekend. (B108)

alienization

Knut Lundby is one of those people who will greet you at a conference and make you feel noticed and recognized, no matter how busy he is, so that helped to reduce my alienization at ICA. (B48)

allnighter

And if you're keeping score, the bottom line is that I'm basically pulling a college-type allnighter to finish a proposal for a book that no editor even expects to land on her desk (B17)

amelodic

These songs have no trouble lifting off when they want: "Someday I'll fly," Mayer sings in "Bigger Than My Body," propelling a chorus that's pure radio bliss. In the hilarious-pathetic "New Deep," a "new man" wears "new cologne" yet still feels blank, as amelodic verses skitter softly, alternating with a bigger, more boldly built chorus. (B69)

American-centricism

Erratum: Eeek! Revealed my ugly American-centricism by assuming Lindsay a woman. My deepest apologies (B93)

anarcho-capitalis

Summarizing the plot in a few sentences is nearly impossible -- the story ranges from the 1B 9B 70s to the end of time. The protagonist is Jonathan Wilde, who discovers at the beginning of the book that he's been resurrected by revolutionaries on a future planet far from the solar system, a planet called "New Mars" where canals have deliberately been built and the society is structured along anarcho-capitalist lines. (B105)

Anglo-based

I've moved from one cosmopolitan location to another, both English-speaking, both Anglo-based. (B91)

anime-horror

I'm having dreams in the f'd-up anime-horror genre. (B42)

Animetal

To The Tune Of: Moonlight Densetsu - Animetal (Yes, Sailor Moon Metal) (B79)

anti-affirmative

anti-affirmative action (B35)

Anti-Americans

But they don't care: Hollywood Halfwits is a website dedicated to "Hollywood Idiots -- Exposing Celebrity Idiots and Anti-Americans." (B64)

(anti-)blern

Fry: Hey, I'm startin' to get the hang of this game. The blerns are loaded. The count's three blerns and two anti-blerns, and the infield blern rule is in effect. Right? (B29)

anti-blog

KEEPING UP WITH JONES: Joe Gandelman has posted a very thoughtful response to Alex Jones' anti-blog temper tantrum in the LA Times. For more links, head over to Instapundit. (B63)

anti-capitalists

We saw an awful lot of policemen, but no protesters. We started hearing about how the anarchists and the anti-capitalists were smashing up Princes Street. (B102)

anti-cheating

And here's to enforcing strict anti-cheating standards in academia. (B50)

anti-Dean

Its borderline censorship to suggest that I can't tell other folks to write and castigate this plagerist for this anti-Dean rhetoric. (B75)

anti-depression

treatable with drugs rather than a voodoo doll or witchdoctor or something that actually would work instead of just covering the problem in a soothing coat anti-depression. (B111)

anti-disabled

I was about to do a short article on my love of cricket, the downfall of Hanse Cronje and how that led to me eating my hat, but whilst doing a little research I found this, Fat Chicks in Party Hats, it's fattist, anti-midget, anti-disabled, funny, and the most non-pc site I've stumbled over in a while. (B96)

anti-eminent domain

In the wake of Kelo, the Institute for Justice is planning an anti-eminent domain rally in New London, Connecticut, (B110)

anti-fun

You know these people. You try and make sure not to invite them to your parties. Hell, you try and make sure not to invite them to your funeral. They are the anti-fun. (B92)

anti-globalization

These kids never really believed all the anti-globalization shit anyway (B109)

anti-globo

Most people are shocked, shocked, that a large contingent of the left of center anti-globo movement is clearly anti-Semitic (B109)

anti-globos

Ken Layne makes fun of the stupid puppets of the anti-globos today. (B109)

antihype

Stowe Boyd has posted an interesting True Voice show about spreading blog antihype (B47)

Anti-Kyoto

Anti-Kyoto Forces Gathering "Steam" (B91)

anti-labor

The doctor said I will take one more week of anti-labor medication and then the final stretch is up to me for incubation of baby Britta. (B20)

Anti-List

The Anti-List (B24)

antilogic

It's all about his career and his fame. I can't explain this blast of antilogic from the antimatter universe any other way. (B64)

anti-midget

I was about to do a short article on my love of cricket, the downfall of Hanse Cronje and how that led to me eating my hat, but whilst doing a little research I found this, Fat Chicks in Party Hats, it's fattist, anti-midget, anti-disabled, funny, and the most non-pc site I've stumbled over in a while. (B96)

antimight

I wasn't even going to bother reading this (I haven't read all the mites of antimight featured in this article either; just look at the freaking headline of the thing for a taste of the idiocy). (B64)

anti-monopolistic

has a long comment thread about it, which of course devolves into anti-monopolistic rants against Microsoft. (B34)

anti-patriot act

cord blood and the anti-patriot act (B20)

anti-privacy

This is a sort of a strident statement that accords with some of Hoberman's critique of the Total Information Awareness and other Patriot Act anti-privacy excesses. (B87)

antiprocess

I'm not against neologisms; I've invented some words in my time. I've written several articles explaining what I call "antiprocess". The problem with inventing a word is that you think you own it, and it's very tempting to make the definition a moving target. (B85)

anti-smokers

Pro- and anti-smokers might both be interested in this fallout from the sweeping Scottish smoking ban next year (B101)

anti-spam

Just upgraded to a new version of WordPress, mostly to try some new anti-spam plugins (B99)

Anywho

Yeah, yeah. Still getting back into the swing of the grind. (That could sound kinda dirrrrty too!) Anywho, not much to speak of. (B4)

AOL

AOL, a unit of CNN's parent company Time Warner Inc., released a study showing that U.S. women over the age of 40 spend nearly 50 percent more time each week playing online games than men and are more likely to play online games daily than men or teens (B31)
So AOL's Digital City here in New York has a Concierge Service, courtesy of some startup called VIP Desk. (B93)

AOTC

The effects are much better than AOTC (except for the scene where they have 5/6 Jango Fett heads stuck onto clones - looked a bit iffy). The culling of the Jedi especially is some of the best stuff I've seen since the heady LOTR days. (B108)

apartment-less

You know it's been a good week when...

1. You arrive in New York apartment-less and with a big fat stress headache.
2. You leave New York with a lease on an apartment and a big fat hangover. (B42)

a-photo-ing

Last week I went a-wandering and a-photo-ing in west London, and snapped two idiosyncratic modes of transport within the space of the same ten minutes (B37)

apikoyres

Naomi, over at Baraita, has taken time out from her lytdybr entries about moving to a new university town and posted a fascinating discussion of, among other things, "Jewish groups who deviated from some perceived norm": minim, apikursim, and others. One of the reasons I used to wish I were Jewish was so I could be an apikoyres, but the other terms were new to me. (B97)

apikursim

Naomi, over at Baraita, has taken time out from her lytdybr entries about moving to a new university town and posted a fascinating discussion of, among other things, "Jewish groups who deviated from some perceived norm": minim, apikursim, and others. One of the reasons I used to wish I were Jewish was so I could be an apikoyres, but the other terms were new to me. (B97)

arch-skeptic

Should I mix it up and respond as the troll expert, the data conversion specialist, the arch-skeptic, the computer hacker, the self-help writer, or the annoying pedant? (B85)

ARGaming

Acheron (reminding anyone of ECHELON?) is a new ARG (Alternate Reality Game) - I already signed up here and noticed that I already see everything in a different perspective. Some spam mails suddenly look a bit more suspicious than other, and..."hey, who's that person popping up on MSN Messenger"! And THAT is what ARGaming is all about (B52)

ark-building

It has been ark-building weather for three days now, (B2)

(Work) arounds

New website due up today and last night as I was furiously ftp-ing, the computer died. Stayed till 8 last night, trying various work arounds, and lo, here I am again this morning. (B53)

arriere-garde

Also another sameoldsameold article from the arriere-garde New York Times about how there are not a lot of women in the games industry (B55)

Artyclopedia

Artyclopedia (B105)

artsy-fartsy

In our relationship, Ben is the one who explores new music. I'm the one who, on first listen to Ben's music, will then disparage Ben for being an artsy-fartsy fuck who needs to listen to obscure shit or pure pop to feel better than me. (B40)

Asciimation

Star Wars Asciimation (B93)

Asian-accented

The song is called "Home Life"; it has an Asian-accented coffeehouse groove in which the narrator makes some odd yet familiar admissions. (B69)

assistanceship

I recently returned from an amazing Spring Break. I checked my snail mail box, and lo and behold, I had a letter from a grad school with info about a teaching assistanceship (B50)

ass-kisser(s)

He talked about River Phoenix and what a junkie he was and got on a small soap box about how any one of the people surrounding him could have saved him by getting him go into rehab, but that they are all such ass-kissers in Hollywood and *everything* but everything is about money. (B25)

assload

I have total writer's block too, which sucks considering I have an assload of stories to read and annotate and write essays on. (B64)

And I'm talking to Aaron, who knows a liberal assload about Flash (B87)

Atlas-like

An apparently healthy young woman enters the car bearing the Atlas-like load of one manila envelope. (B92)

attorney-joggers

didn't see any Asian female attorney-joggers (B24)

auction-like

At the conclusion of his speech, Carl Mayer, Nader's campaign advisor, addressed the audience and in an auction-like fashion and began asking for donations to their campaign. (B75)

(Audio)scrobbler

Listening My Audioscrobbler (B27)

aupairing

forgot to add, got offered a job aupairing in Geneva, Switzerland. caring for two little girls in an "ancient" house. (B23)

auraliser

I discovered this - Peep - the network auraliser via bobo. It lets you monitor traffic on a network with your ears (B76)

Ausubelian

If I had to classify my approach to learning a foreign language, I would probably say that I am more Ausubelian than Skinnerian or Rogersian. (B98)

authoethnography

Two papers, me in between - on discovering authoethnography (B41)

author-translator

I have also heard it described in terms of the author-translator relationship (B36)

autoblography

autoblography (B100)

autodialer

Did you even know they still existed? Yeah. All high tech these days. First nailing the autodialer to get all those fools that pressed 1 for more info (B74)

auto-identify

And now we have Apple's OS 10.2 client, which (rumor has it) uses latent semantic analysis to auto-identify spam. (B2)

auto-link

Dynamic tags may be used to auto-link blog entries, users, and more. Click here to learn how. (B34)

auto-mobile

The downside of auto-mobile bans - drivers text instead ...link (B37)

auto-tagging

That guy's done some cool auto-tagging stuff using our news feeds and Yahoo! (B44)

auto-toggle

Of particular interest is the rating system which includes the ability to display images to indicate the rating of a link. And the auto-toggle category flag which forces only one link in that category to be visible, automatically toggling the others invisible. (B

awe-filled

There are only so many cold foods! It's so awe-filled, it's as though all the local stations hired eskimos to do their human interest and weather segments. (B22)

babydoll

Just because they make a babydoll t-shirt that says "sexy" in rhinestone across the chest in a size B 18 doesn't mean anyone should wear it! (B25)

baby-thing

I finished the smoke, and retreated back indoors to escape the ghastly baby-thing honking downstairs. I took a little nap, and when I woke, went to the bathroom. (B92)

backchanneling

Hopefully, we will become more practiced with backchanneling and it will sparkle with the allure of new techniques of knowledge making. (B87)

back-construct

So having never acknowledged it at the time, they now back-construct that period in order to use it as a weapon with which to hit Australians over the head (B90)

back-install

Worst of all is how slow my machine is running, so bad I may need to back-install Panther. (B38)

backordered

Just ordered some music off of CDNow. I love the fact that you can order vinyl about half the time. I got an Xibit album (because of the song Paparazzi, featured on the Sopranos and in Tony Hawk 3. Hip hop and classical, very smart, kinda like David Gray mixing techno and folk so brilliantly on White Ladder), System of a Down, the International Noise Conspiracy (some very strange Danes or Norwegians or something), the aforementioned Jon Spencer album that Rick panned, and a couple of other things I can't remember right now. Some will arrive in 3 days, some are backordered. (B109)

backpackingspiel

Then the next six weeks will be backpackingspiel. (B10)

back-story

Me, I'm not going to see it. I just don't care about the Star Wars back-story (B99)

ballgown-hunting

After some ballgown-hunting, we went to have lunch. (B82)

ball-less

I hope their obsession with process won't render their Holy, divine rage toothless, ball-less. (B77)

balloon-pricking

Since I recently posted a rant about coincidence, I thought I'd bring it to your attention. You can never have too much balloon-pricking. (B87)

banana-scented

one might expect that one could go to one of these picture-postcard-perfect locales and lay out one's blanket and one's box of wine and one's banana-scented suntan lotion... (B111)

banging-on-walls

Also, my neighbours play guitar and sing very late at night on weekends. I wouldn't mind too much - loud neighbours are a blessing if you're a loud neighbour yourself - but I did go around and ask them to be quiet when they hadn't turned the stereo down by 2am. I refuse to do the banging-on-walls thing, though, I have my dignity. (B15)

bar-fridge

I saw a nice bar-fridge on a customer's website. (B15)

barfy

The night I arrived in New York, I got sick. Not barfy sick, the way I might expect my cat to react upon arrival in a strange new place. No, it was this awful, creeping sickness, a slow onset of fever accompanied by slight chills, aches and near-fainting spells. (B42)

barrel-scraping

So, by now, I knew there was a problem. This was the lowest of the low. One of the very lowest of the barrel-scraping formula films in a despicable genre. (B93)

barrier-gate

I barely had time to sweep the cobwebs from my broken house on the River Sumida before the New Year, but no sooner had the spring mist begun to rise over the field than I wanted to be on the road again to cross the barrier-gate of Shirakawa in due time. (B112)

bat-brained

Y'know, it's the sheer enthusiasm behind the bat-brained idiocy that's so amusing. (B7)

b-days / bday

and the b-days are all May B 29th for those of you who don't know, not the 30th, (B57)

1:B 41 am: "Wants to take us to Miami for his bday!" (B78)

beam-speed

As a flyer, I wouldn't expect to transport myself at beam-speed to the desired locations, but I would definitely make sure that the B 24-hour plane trip I'm scheduled to take to the Philippines in less than a month would take decidedly less time than that. (B42)

beatboxe(s)

The acts I do remember, even though they were all great - By Your Side (which I was gonna play with Lola), the human beatboxes (B76)

beautifuk

Something's been bugging me when I check the referrers to my blog. I can't figure out how this blog, beautifuk, has been directing hits to my blog when I can't seem to find a link from her blog to mine! (B1)

been-there-done-that

"Naruto" is so refreshing! There are a lot of cutesy, perv, been-there-done-that anime floating about. This series however brings something new to my viewing. (B8)

beercast

If things get crowded, we can walk down to the neighborhood park. If we don't have enough food, we can go to the story or pizza place. Heck, maybe someone can beercast/foodcast the event! (B41)

beerfest

Hmm.. that Thursday lunch went horrible wrong. When we got back till campus around noon, the beerfest was all kicking, and I decided to have one (1) beer with friends. Yeah, that really turned out well. The beerfest ended at 4pm, but the cute girls all seemed to go to the Campus Club. (B10)

beer-glazed

My main aim for the day is to avoid (...)men with their beer-glazed eyes and women clutching their shoes and sobbing incomprehensibly into their mobile phones. DB has the day off too. Perhaps we can escape to a nice forest somewhere. (B53)

belligerati

It has up-to-the-minute terms like belligerati 'any belligerent person or group; (hence) as a group, pro-war commentators' (first used, apparently, by "Gordon" on Usenet on Mar. B 16, B 2000 with the quirky spelling belligeratti; it has since, inevitably, become the name of a blog (B97)

bench-guy

We found a bench-guy who sold us hashish by a con at first until we surrounded him to hand over the promised handful (B78)

best-seeded

There were times when even the best-seeded discussions on Fullerton's topics took too long. (B87)

best-traveled

Gulliver had only recently embarked upon a quest to become the best-traveled monkey in the world. (B42)

bevoir(s)

Now it's Christmas Eve me and all my old mates from school are going down to my local for a few bevoirs and our ritual carry on before Santa comes. (B33)

bf

Have a crush(es): I have a bf...so yeah (B13)

Bible-blinded

Orwell would have seen this Bible-blinded gulag for what it is. (B77)

Biblicalicious

A nice Biblicalicious mind-fuck. (B92)

biblioblog(s)

I've added it to my blogroll, of course, along with all the other new biblioblogs on the block.

Welcome, Robert. (B67)

I am happy to join Jim West in welcoming another new biblioblog (B67)

biblioblogger(s)

I am usually the last on the scene these days, but I'd like to join other bibliobloggers (including Michael Bird, Stephen Carlson and Jim West) (B67)

Big-ass

Big-ass dance-floor, a bar that stretches from the stage to the bathroom, a small second-floor balcony for rich-people, and a great sound system. (B106)

Last Saturday I awoke feeling unwell. Not vomitous or queasy or too sick to go to a big-ass barbecue miles out of the city (B111)

bigups

Bigups to Stewart my producer who's done all the hard work, whereas I just float in and make the coffee. (B101)

bill-topper(s)

As to bill-toppers Foo Fighters, it's difficult for me to give an objective view (B102)

birthdayer(s)

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO ALL BIRTHDAYERS (B82)

bitch-slapp(ed)

The laptop that I was bitch-slapped for using had one problem: it came with only B 512MB of memory. In my mind that's laughable. This is B 2005! (B44)

A tense situation that's been slipping under the radar since September 11th is the China/Taiwan crisis. China wants to bitchslap this "rogue state", but Taiwan is giving them the finger while the USA lurks in the background. (B109)

bitstream

That's a lot of bits demanding our attention -- just from e-mail. It's likely that still other devices and other bitstreams will threaten the typical American with exponentially more information anxiety. (B65)

biyatch

This week, I installed Tibco's PortalBuilder at work and now I'll be fiddling and developing this biyatch for the next few months. (B76)

biznatch

"This weekend, Alex S. Jones of the LA Times is the latest slow-moving print dinosaur to weigh in on the topic. "[T]emporary press credentials... [don't] turn bloggers into journalists" seems to be his point. It's wrapped up by a lovely strawman argument -- "should blogging displace traditional reporting and journalism, as some in the blogosphere predict it will, then the steak will have been swapped for the sizzle." Right. Source that, biznatch. (B6)

blameic

although generally the puking isn't forced blameic still (B74)

blastbeat(s)

I read once, in some BM blog or website, that those relentless, whirring blastbeats represent the thunder of a storm cloud (B77)

bleak'n'blinkin

Listened just the once to the Dizzie Rascal album everyone seems to be raving about...it's good. It doesn't...it doesn't yet move me. It's his aching, squeeling, crying, churning voice that captured me, not the bleak'n'blinkin supa-treble music that rattles behind him. (B77)

bleg / blegging

By way of being a complete pain in the butt, though, I'm kind of having to bleg for a li'l cash to cover the cost of the redesign (B49)

I may take the latter down; I put it up there planning on doing a little blegging so that I can afford to pay Lauren or someone to do a site redesign to accomodate the ads, but I am embarrassed about blegging and think, frankly, that it's pretty shitty to ask y'all to pay for my hobby, so instead I am fiddling around with templates and coding on a dummy blog I set up. (B49)

There's a new book explaining Canon Law for lay people with emphasis on how it affects their daily lives. It's co-written by St. Blog's own Pete Vere, of Catholic Light. :) I've added it to my wish list. If only I approved of blegging... (B83)

bling / bling bling

As we waited for our lunch to arrive, the bling bling of all bling bling Hummers drove into the spot exactly in front of our window. (B40)

that doesn't stop you from jumping on the bling bandwagon every now and then. (B108)

B-lister

"I heard that, by the way," I say. "He's a def. B-lister." (B78)

bloaty

since San Francisco is in California and all the TV you ever watch shows David Hasselhoff walking around bloaty and smiling and half-naked (B111)

blobish

Perhaps my usual sadness on New Year's Eve explains why someone recently told me that I remind them of the Zoloft mascot, that little blob of gloom. So, I'm blue and Zoloft blobish because I'm sad to see 2003 end. (B40)

blog(s)

Man, I don't know how he does it... Jason writes a great blog and he's a pediatric resident at the same time... (B93)

I do want to use this program for other types of blogs, but I am not sure if I am going to give up on my other site. (B3)

I loved Halley's picture of where she blogs...it looks like my Platonic ideal of a blogging space (B55)

blog-addict

For the blog-addict in me, I'm going to try and get my hands on this. (B8)

blogad(s)

Henry Copeland: "Half the bloggers going to the DNC convention run blogads." And the others? (B6)

-Want to sell blogads? (B62)

blogage / bloggage

Community blogage! (B57)

Sorry for the short update, the lack of bloggage and blog reads. I'm still stuck in this phase. I feel rather cynical and quite unfriendly at the moment. (B8)

I'm not in the best writing mood at the moment. Hopefully this mood will lift and I'll be back to my daily bloggage (B8)

blogaholic

Even if he does not actually blog himself, he still could be what is referred to within certain circles as a dry blogaholic. (B68)

blogalize(d)

It is blogalized version of a novel of the same title by Grace Jovian (a pen name of Jeri Massi). (B81)

blogatron

All up in blogatron. (B5)

long time friend some time robot hilatron has her own blogatron! (B5)

Blogbash

Hey, I've got an idea! Who wants to get together and have a Grammy Night Blogbash? It's more fun to drink and mock in company. (B64)

blogchalking

It looks like blogchalking should have considered sending out staggered emails regarding their change of server rather than modifying the images pulled from their old server to say "update your image". (B28)

blog-crazed

Is it any surprise in this blog-crazed blip that Hardball has launched its own Hardblogger (B6)

Blogdom

Not much going on today out in Blogdom. (B109)

We can't all be the InstaPundit, or Eric Olsen, or Andrew Sullivan. And if we were, Blogdom would be a boring place. (B109)

blog-free

Anyone who thinks the future isn't now is living in a blog-free cave." Damn right. (B68)

blogger(s)

Interesting article on people who have influence on the web, the traffic-drivers. Seems like bloggers fall into this category pretty well. (B93)

bloggerific

I had something really bloggerific to say along the lines of my dad being here for dinner and my punchline was "why is tonight different from all of the others...?" (B57)

Bloggerized

harrumph! gets Bloggerized! (B68)

Bloggerrhea

Also known as Bloggerrhea (B68)

blogger-run

Which bodes well for the blogger-run businesses like Pyra and DeepLeap. (B93)

Bloggery

in Bloggery (B71)

Bloggie(s)

Much to my surprise, we've been nominated for a Bloggie award, in the category of Best Group Weblog. (B55)

It's time for the Bloggies - Fifth Annual Weblog Awards, starting with nominations from readers from this coming monday. (B51)

I must thank, Australian Blogger Daniel Bowen who signed my guestbook this morning after coming from the Bloggies' awards nomination page (B100)

blogginess

(Hmmm. The "publish" feature in blogger was down, so this is coming up late. More blogginess to come this weekend...). (B17)

blogging(s)

A blogging smackdown in the house tonight, as each fights to craft the perfect entry, the One Entry that will suck traffic remorselessly away from the other. (B2)

It's a very cool blogging site (B25)

In it, he quoted my recent post, Stop, as well as Seth Finklestein's London Bloggings and Blog Evangelism. (B72)

bloggingly

The bloggingly challenged (B71)

bloggish

But I'm very sad. I need bloggish advice! How do I keep a theme going, something original, not tied to making posts daily? (B71)

bloggishness

The second theme of bloggishness for Mondays is order (B71)

Bloggorrhoea

Bloggorrhoea (B91)

bloggy

I'm so excited, and I can't believe I didn't post this before! (I was just typing my newsletter and realized I hadn't shouted this from the bloggy rooftops!) (B17)

Even if it wasn't mainly authored by one of my best friends and in much smaller part authored by me, I'd recommend whole-heartedly this new addition to the bloggy world. (B22)

bloggy-land

I've been absent from bloggy-land this weekend. (B17)

Blogistan

The Blogistan Lexicon (B97)

Blogjam

I'm so impressed, Fraser, the nice man that writes the ever entertaining Blogjam, managed to find my blog, how is this? (B96)

blog-keeping

I am not sure if this would apply to blog-keeping, however, which are often very aware of their positioning within the public sphere and as such tend to be more carefully edited than the traditional paper-based journal or diary. (B53)

bloglag

A case of bloglag. (B37)

blogland

The last but one was inspired by the fact that everyone in blogland is linking to this site at the moment. (B59)

Blog-like

Blog-like postings that didn't directly relate to my life until a short while ago when I started noticing a huge uproar in blogs. (B74)

blog-linker(s)

Here's what you annoyed blog-linkers have been waiting for: Automated permanent links to each post are now possible with Blogger (B68)

blogmania

Cornerhost is a service "by webbloggers, for webbloggers" as well as a few others (there's one called blogmania or blogorama, but I forget the exact title and URL) (B72)

Blogmate(s)

My Blogmates (B102)

blogologist

Steven Streight, the "official blogologist of BLOGthenticity Group Business Blog", doesn't see the point of RSS feeds. (B38)

blogorama

Cornerhost is a service "by webbloggers, for webbloggers" as well as a few others (there's one called blogmania or blogorama, but I forget the exact title and URL) (B72)

Blogorrhoea

Blogorrhoea (n): Psychic condition occasioned by global condition, occasioning bouts of public whimpering and fulmination. The patient apprehends the world as if squinting through a farce darkly, the parameters of his apprehension set by stolen thoughts, like these (B90)
Nevertheless, out of recognition of the closeness we did once enjoy, Alan will continue to hold his place in my "These We Have Loved" section, the very Mount Rushmore of blogorrhoea. (B101)

Blogosophical

Blogosophical Investigations (B37)

blogosphere

Is the blogosphere growing or what? (B6)

Part of the Italian blogosphere is now debating about the credibility of the recovered information: can the Pentagon really be so clueless? (B47)

Blogospheric

Blogospheric happiness (B50)

blogparent

She's up against Raed (and some other great blogs, as well), but as a sort of blogparent (and as a regular reader), I have to put in a plug for her. (B55)

blog-reading

I have caught up with a lot of my 'blog-reading (punctuated by frenzied visits to Yahoo! for my game-playing needs (B24)

blog-related

This seems to touch on blog-related themes (B53)

blogroll / blogrolls /blogrolled

Blogroll Me! (B8)

Please update your links, bookmarks, favourites, and blogrolls. Everything should get redirected automatically but if you see any errors, please leave a comment. (B28)

random blogs who've blogrolled me (B54)

Don't get me wrong: there's a reason why I include workplace: the journal for academic labor on my blogroll (B89)

Blogrolling

Blogrolling updates

I have been introduced to the great services of Blogrolling, making my daily routine of reading favourite blogs much more efficient. (B60)

blog-sitters

Talking of which, it's quite early to ask I know, but I'll be over there for a month and will be looking for blog-sitters. Applicants please form an orderly queue. (B102)

blogspaces

(and has apparently prompted a new "segment" of Danes to blog, judging from the linked blogspaces on the Danish version of Spaces that I'm automatically directed to). (B51)

Blogspotting

Here is Business week's own blog follow-up in their "Blogspotting" blog. (B51)

blogterms

Shame. Alan and I go way back in blogterms,... (B 101)

BLOGthenticity

Steven Streight, the "official blogologist of BLOGthenticity Group Business Blog", doesn't see the point of RSS feeds. (B38)

blogtrees

blogtrees (B59)

blog-wise / blogwise

It's adding a grand total of 50 or so hours to my full-time schedule, so I'm not the freest of individuals right now, time-wise, blog-wise, whatever (B22)

In my many surfing adventures, trying to figure out what I should become blogwise, I stumbled upon Grocery Lists.org. (B71)

blog-writer / blogwriter(s)

So a blog-writer may as well take the opportunity to go and speak with them all. (B63)

We all get our bad times, and some of you bloggers go quiet then. (B102)

blurbie

And, of course, there are the flashes of absolute brilliance (I think) that are completely contrary to the one sentence blurbie turned into the editor over a year ago (B17)

Here's a blurbie thing if you're curious (it'll end up on the webpage when I update, but for now, a sneak preview!) (B17)

bongoed

....Jesus would have been a braided hippy dippy strumming on his guitar, diggin' the groupies, bongoed out on cheap grass.... (B77)

book-a-holic

i admit. i am a book-a-holic. (B23)

bookbuying

Note to self: at some point I'm going to write a postapocalyptic novel with that title, the protagonist of which will be one buttock of an apostate who did not make the cut during the rapture, in a blatant and cynical attempt to filch some dollars from the Christian right bookbuying public. (B56)

bookmarklet

My personal favorite is the way the QuickPost bookmarklet handles quotes. So, when you select some text on a page and then post from the bookmarklet, the quote will be indented and attributed to the link where it was found. (B40)

boo-tay

and certain elves (i.e., moi) find returning packages to be a big pain in the big boo-tay, there's only one solution: Keep it. For yourself. (B42)

borettslag

I live in a housing corporation, a borettslag, with about a hundred households and a board and a caretaker and concerned neighbours who once I got past thinking them busybodies turn out to be caring, helpful and supportive. (B54)

bosslady

When I did get into work, I ran into bosslady, who gave me the once-over. (B92)

botox-scented

By all means let them sing themselves into a botox-scented coffin if they wish... (B101)

bound-breaking

Mr Welsh was bound-breaking. Cannot be denied. Single-handedly trashed for ever the Muriel Spark historical nonsense of how Edinburgh used to be. (B101)

boy-band

With the possible exception of boy-band songs and Saturday morning cartoons, no American art form has been so firmly relegated to the kiddy table of the cultural dining room as the comic book. (B94)

Bozhe moy

Or is B 62.5% the highest percentage of librarians whose priorities were students, and those librarians were law librarians? And are students not users? Bozhe moy... (B88)

brain-buster(s)

Since I've been embedded in Tinseltown, Movieland has posed me some perplexing questions. Here are today's brain-busters (B78)

brain-choking

And I was eating this stuff up, I simply couldn't get enough of this brain-choking bullshit. (B92)

braindump

I'm doing an ETech inspired braindump of sorts (B44)

brainfreeze

And when I drank something cool, it throbbed like a brainfreeze. (B111)

brain-keyboard

Next semester, I might try NoteTaker from Aquaminds, just to find the best brain-keyboard match (B87)

branch-a-holic

It is a stunningly comprehensive paper, laying out B 32 patterns (eight each for elements, creation, policy and structuring), then working through variations of a number of them, and ending with traps

and pitfalls (13 of them, including merge-a-phobia, branch-a-holic, the never-ending branch, (...)
(B34)

brat-punk

I heard not only a song by (Neko Case side project) the New Pornographers but also "Identity" by poppy brat-punk pioneers X-Ray Spex. (B94)

breakie / brekkie

Having breakie/lunch at Tanya's take away shop. (B84)

The hostel had free dinner if you bought a beer and a light brekkie free too! (B78)

brown-nosing

My team mate joked today, "you're brown-nosing the wrong guy." That got me thinking, what exactly is the difference between brown-nosing someone and just saying something nice? (B58)

browser-based

... and then you're whisked away to some browser-based chat window that refreshes really slowly.
(B93)

BrowserCam

The hassle in changing the design of a site (or even the implementation of an existing design) is checking it out in all the browsers you care about. Who can track down all the different versions? BrowserCam to the rescue. (B34)

browser-specific

They only work in Explorer, and while I hate browser-specific enhancements, I did them for two reasons (B93)

Buffyverse

Soon Channel 7 won't have us Buffyverse people to kick around any more and they'll have to foist their rubbish on some other poor late night group. (B95)

bum-numbing

It's the longest film of the trilogy, running to a bum-numbing 3 hours B 20 minutes! (B28)

bunad

For the defence itself you should choose a festantrekk, as you'd wear to a wedding, a christening or on B 17. mai: a dark suit, a bunad or even a tuxedo (B54)

Bush-hating

I'm defiantly liberal and proudly Bush-hating, but I didn't come out of the film doubt-free about everything it was saying. (B22)

Bush-hatred

Jacitelli wasn't praising Bush blindly, he was pointing out how the antiwar position the bulk of the "left" has taken is based mainly on partisan Bush-hatred, unlike the position I and others have taken that Saddam Hussein is a menace to our country (B64)

Bush-led

and even the Republican hawks of the US Congress needed some Bush-led rallying last week to be kept in line with his optimism. (B22)

Bushocracy

Instead of working together to try to topple the Bushocracy, they're all trying to sabotage each other. (B82)

bushwalk / bushwalking

A perfect day for bushwalking with friends. At one point we got lost in the middle of nowhere, it was fun, I like the unexpected things in life. (B84)

An odd day to go bushwalk (B84)

Bushworld

Here in the UK we watch what is happening in Bushworld and are just a little worried. (B82)

butcher-type

We bought the innards for a closet and one of those cool tables w/ the butcher-type drawing paper for C. (B17)

Butoh

The first two days were devoted to Butoh, which is a modern Japanese dance created by Tatsumi Hijikata. (B104)

buttfucker

Whatever happened to charm? I'm a buttfucker, dear.' (B111)

butthead(s)

I have the bank statements, the copies of cancelled checks, I could do what I had to in order to make the new collection buttheads see that this was paid. (B4)

(cigarette) butt-less

I could take half the time on a bus and swim in pristine Pacific Ocean and loll on cigarette butt-less white sand beaches. (B91)

buttless

Remember Rule 7 of the Gay Guidelines: Never Be Obvious. Well, except for the buttless chaps. Love the shirt by the way." (B111)

buttock-clenched

behind that pinched, hairless face is a sea of buttock-clenched, empty-stomached fear. (B77)

caffeinate

(Must go re caffeinate). (B79)

Californication

To The Tune Of: Red Hot Chili Peppers - Californication (B79)

camwhore

This pic was made possible by the other camwhore. :) Thanks! To look at more pics he's made, click here. (B8)

candy-a-holic

candy-a-holic (B16)

Candyfreak

Candyfreak (B42)

cannibalist

watched The Secretary and Delicatessen....about sadomachoism and a cannibalist post-apocalyptic France, respectively....and they were both really good. (B57)

carmageddon

about silvery gleaming machines, sun-glasses-on-and-brains-turned-off, Auto-Weakly, carmageddon, the destruction of the world, the countryside, the air we breath, cities themselves (B77)

carpaccio-munching

I scurry back to my carpaccio-munching table. (B78)

case-insensitive

huge case-insensitive agricultural subsidies; (B90)

catch-free

All hook-and-loop closures are curve-cut and perforated for supple, catch-free operation. (B12)

cat-owning

It's more of a cat-owning consumer personality test. (B88)

cat-sized

So now I have a cat-sized moving target that I'm actively trying to avoid hitting. (B111)

cause-oriented

A recent report from the UK's Electoral Commission, Gender and political participation, found that while there is no gender gap in election turnout, and women are more likely to be involved in cause-oriented activities such as signing a petition or boycotting products, they are less likely to participate in collective activities like campaigning or joining a political party. (B55)

CD1B 33(-positive)

In one dramatic experiment, B 16 of 19 mice injected with CD1B 33-positive human tumor cells developed tumors. (B83)

CD-RW

LG Combo Drive CD-RW/DVD Rom (B9)

celebutante(s)

But here's an even more annoying one: "celebutantes," to describe wealthy young women who are famous for being wealthy and young. (B88)

cgi

The iMac is great as a DNS, mailserver, and webserver as long as you don't have cgi and javascript running. (B109)

chapter(ed)

This is the first chaptered story I'm writing which actually has a *plot* and will stretch me as a writer. (B82)

chatbot(s)

it relies entirely on the principles of feedback. This is very different to the majority of chatbots, which are rule-bound and finite." (B58)

chatterbot(s)

I ran across Jabberwacky, a Web chatterbot that took 3rd place in the B 2003 Loebner Prize. (B56)
If you use MSN Messenger and like playing English language games with chatterbots, try the beta version of Spleak (B80)

chav

To chav or not to chav... (B108)
How much of a Chav am I??? (B108)

chavness

Confirm your own chavness here. (B108)

cheap-seat

We all hit the theatre for a cheap-seat showing of "The Forgotten" after we left the mall and afterwards we stayed up insanely late (B79)

checkbox(es)

Web designers, for the love of god please remember to use the friggin' <label> tag for your form elements, especially radio buttons and checkboxes. (B27)

cheese-like

To my dismay, inside the box were packages of some sort of cheese-like chip snack called "Munchies." (B40)

Cheneyland

There's also a cool map over at the vestigial Edwards for President site, showing how the U.S. would look if the states were physically proportional to their electoral size. Cheneyland suddenly looks teeny. (B7)

Cheney-like

But he cheerfully sends his love/inner peace/Cheney-like scowl of doom to you all. (B7)

chest-pounding

No, I'm not hard of "hearing," I just... wait for it... DISAGREE with your self-righteous chest-pounding garbage. (B64)

chicken-fancier

Strange, as I know he's not a chicken-fancier either. (B101)

chicken-hawk

The Iraq CHICKEN-hawk War - B 4B 41 Dead, over B 9000 Wounded, over 1B 200 Amputees... fought the CHICKEN-hawk Way... with other people's money and other people's lives (B75)

chiffon-like

So, I went back and exchanged it for a little black dress I was eyeing for some time but didn't buy because there isn't much occasions I can wear it for. The inner layer is lace and the outer layer is a chiffon-like material. (B1)

child-shaped

Install a temporary cowcatcher on your fender if you have time. This will prevent troublesome child-shaped dents to your car. (B92)

chilled-out

I think the next day was spent playing yonks of pool and watching people on the square in chilled-out Espana stylee. (B76)

chmod

MacObserver nearly got bamboozled by a pretty funny parody of a religious nut claiming that Macs are the tools of pagans because the OS is called Darwin, the symbol carries a pitchfork, the code is "open-source" (and therefore socialism), and you use a command called "chmod 666". (B109)

choc-o-holic

Help! I'm spiraling out of control into a choc-o-holic bender. Chocolate covered strawberries are healthy, right? (B8)

chocolate-skinned

And there are the girls—young, chocolate-skinned (B99)

chocophile

Kiloh used to be a chocaholic. Then she found out about the negative connotations of the -holic bit, so now she's a chocophile. (B59)

chordage

The splurge of down tuned chordage, that almost material texture of D-tuned guitars are as dirty sounding as any garage bass. (B77)

church-shopping

I could search for another church... but I really hate church-shopping (B29)

chyron

The network's chyron is so distinctive it not only inspired commercials that began and ended with text captions, but I believe it indirectly caused the proliferation of semi-transparent logos that infest the lower-right corner of any TV screen. (B93)

circummotor(ing)

We spent all day yesterday circummotoring the Olympic Peninsula in a little Ford Escort. (B2)

circumscriber(s)

But to allow the market of today to determine who teaches what to whom is precisely to confer decisive power to the truly unaccountable, to the naturalisers of the contingent, to the circumscribers of thought, (B90)

city-denizen

After living on Glebe Point Road for the last few months, however, I have to admit that the city-denizen in me rears an ugly head now and then to ask, "where shall we go to eat?" (B91)

claptrack

Believe me, I've read more than enough on mothering and motherhood, and I am oppressed by the dead weight of desire, and blame, and wishful thinking, and sentimental claptrack and just plain ickiness. (B89)

class-blinded

.....while back home people, the same class-blinded, palpatating people who now treat Tim as their proxy knight in armour (B77)

cleartext

The output of the generator is XOR-ed with the cleartext to produce the cipher. (B34)

clickable

It makes the text next to the form element clickable, so the user doesn't have to land the cursor exactly on the wee little element. (B27)

This site offers a clickable US map with quotations from Jack Kerouac's "On the Road" from each state. (B76)

Clintonesque

All I can say is we had better be taking advantage of time by getting our forces in place, not doing the Clintonesque put-it-off-as-long-as-possible shillyshallying. (B64)

Clintonian

Short term thinking is hiring Dick Morris, and engaging in a Clintonian process of "triangulation" in order to win over voters in one election, while muddying the Democrats' appeal in the longer term. (B62)

Clintoniz(ing)

In a post entitled Clintonizing Bush, I criticized MoDo and TPM for comparing the Bush's comments about Iraq's search for uranium to Clinton's unforgettable comment about what the definition of "is" is. (B63)

Clinton-obsessed

Paid another visit to the Impeachment hearings and interviewed the Clinton-obsessed Congressman BoBarr about the whipped cream he licked off two women's chests at a fundraiser in 1992. (B35)

Clinton-overseen

You know what? I was all for the Clinton-overseen military actions in Bosnia, Kosovo (B64)

clippity clop

Except of course with little pollution, fly overs, muck, ozone, fumes, twats in Galaxies and People Carriers....just the clippity clop of horses. Why did we change??? (B77)

C-lister

She's the only freakin' girl who will refute an Economist header and stop mid-sentence to follow a goof-ball C-lister (B78)

closed-mouthed

See above re: my friends are all closed-mouthed hermits. (B92)

cluelessness

In the coverage of their appointments, expect to hear more of the cluelessness exemplified by the Washington Post's Charles Babington (B110)

clunkiness

Can we say "ideology"? The term has fallen out of fashion, perhaps you find it clunky and theoretically naive: in which case, let me refer you to the mothering manuals, where clunkiness and theoretical naivete are the order of the day (B89)

C'mon

C'mon, instead of funneling millions to the lobbyists, why don't you try hiring some fucking talent? (B24)

Remember a while back when I posted, "Why does everything happen at once?"? No? C'mon, it was just the other day. (B68)

CNN-sponsored

In addition Technorati will launch a special, CNN-sponsored politics site on Sunday night to kick things off. (B6)

co-branding

Though Microsoft describes this as "co-branding", it doesn't seem to be nearly as pervasive as that label would suggest. (B93)

cock-twisting

Thank goodness. In an age where spin and doubletalk increasingly insulate politicians from good old mean-spirited cock-twisting just for the fun of it, old Strom still makes it easy for jerkoffs like me: he's never done any single good thing in his political life, so I can have at it, and it requires virtually no effort. (B92)

code-aholic

Yes, I'm a code-aholic. (B15)

codeline

the never-ending branch, and codeline pudding). I have not read it in depth, but am certain that there is much to learn in it. (B34)

co-dependent

Aha, a new cable modem and I am back among the continuously wired and co-dependent for another couple of weeks. (B72)

codework

- the design and experience of non-informational spaces (digital art, codework, literature, games etc.) (B48)

commenter(s)

Weblogs tend to solve the problem of trolls - when they turn up, which seems to be quite rare - by banning the IP of trolling commenters. (B55)

It results in some confusion among his commenters, (B62)

One of my frequent commenters, Steve, has often (B83)

commentor(s)

Brad DeLong's commentors on the economics of Two-Buck Chuck (B94)

commitment-free

I will be leaving the state in less than three weeks - I'm naturally commitment-free! (B22)

comraderie

The sense of comraderie and support is overwhelming. (B34)

condo-sprawl

Apartment blocks, which are few, that aren't housing commission monstrosities or developer condo-sprawl are usually renovations of previously existing large structures – the warehouses and factories whose businesses moved further into the suburbs for tax relief or whatever other motivation they had. (B91)

connectness

Perhaps this is part of the appeal of the weblog. The connectness of the shared experience. Hmm. (B53)

conspiracy-based

Hmmmm....Majesco is launching a conspiracy-based game this year: Black9 (B52)

contentness

You are somewhat innocent, in the fact that your genius only extends to the physical world. You have a false sense of contentness. (B23)

coolio

The community is already finding coolio ways to extend the service. (B27)

cop-calling

In the words of my new cop-calling dancer buddy, "this place is dull, lets go somewhere else." (B78)

co-signer

So I tried to buy one. Try, cause it's not so easy to get a loan without a co-signer at the ripe old age of 20. (B5)

co-sleeper

We're still worried about keeping her warm at night. This "no blankets" rule is tough to follow. I ordered a co-sleeper and a halo sleep sack so hopefully we can rest a little easier knowing she is safe while we attempt to sleep. (B20)

cosplay

Probably the most interesting thing about the whole event was the cosplay. Cosplay is when people dress up as someone from anime, manga or film. It's a bit like fancy dress in England. (B104)

couch-side

But I do think they could work a bit on their couch-side manner (B85)

counter-modern

Among the counter-modern Christian philosophers lauded by Milbank (and von Balthasar) alongside Vico, Cusa, Jacobi, and others, is Johann George Hamann. (B73)

counter-programming

Rainbow president Henry Jaglom said: "We decided this is an important time to re-release this film, to provide some counter-programming to The Passion (B67)

country-esque

And not just vaguely country-esque versions of traditional carols (B27)

coverall-clad

A group of four coverall-clad workmen were gathered near the elevators the other day, fiddling with a partially disassembled door (B99)

crackwhore

Some crackwhore cunt of a cleaning lady had thrashed my water bottle for the 4th time this month. (B10)

crapfest

Christmas music. Post-Thanksgiving brings us the annual crapfest of pop country Christmas songs, at least once per hour on every station. (B27)

Crapflooding

Writing your objections to the paper is one thing. Crapflooding his mailbox, and posting his home address, is something else. The first is free exchange of ideas. The second is political retaliation (B75)

Craptacular

I doubt my credit is good enough to get a cell. Craptacular. (B79)

creepazoid(s)

Yet another reason to defeat Bush: he's stacking the federal courts (and thus the interpretation of the Constitution for much of the next generation) with twisted creepazoids you wouldn't turn your back on with a plastic spork. (B7)

cringy / cringiest

For the most part they're not too bad except sometimes they can ask the cringiest questions, especially Richard, that leave viewers squirming in their seats. (B16)

cross-browser

But I couldn't really put it to use because the cross-platform and cross-browser support was horrible. (B44)

cross-categoriz(ed)

The latter will also be cross-categorized for ease in future searching. (B3)

Cruft-free

All this thanks to good old Google honouring the 301 return code and some very sophisticated redirection code turning, for example, a request for <http://zed1.com/b2/archives/p/986/more/1/c/1/Happy-Birthday-Chloe> (my customised b2 SE friendly URIs) into a permanent redirect to Wordpress' cruft-free URI (B28)

crypticness

So I re-read... the crypticness was high... but then again we are dealing with my mother... (B57)

cunt-ass

I have this empty feeling. like.. I almost feel like laying in the sun all day. screw uni. fuck grades and cunt-ass professors. (B10)

curmudgeonry

And for an excellent shorthand equivalent (just theory, no examples), try Alan Pagliere's article at, of all places, The Vocabula Review (home of linguistic curmudgeonry). (B97)

customer-centered

Last week I came across a case study of a sharp, customer-centered businessman, published in a top U.S. magazine (B65)

customer-centric

I was impressed with the forward-looking, customer-centric research: observing customers' natural interactions (B65)

customer-centricity

Howard Mann says a big "SO WHAT" to corporation-proclaimed customer-centricity. I agree, however, so as not to repeat Howard's post here, I'm off in another direction. (B38)

cyberfix

So as soon as I saw a sign for "cyber cafe" I ran across the street. Some people run when they see the coffee sign; not me... thoughts of bits and bytes running through my head. I'm on a per minute time limit here, so this is just a quick cyberfix before heading out for some Miami food. (B58)

cyberholic

I'm a cyberholic... (B58)

cybermaps

on Wednesday, Marie-Laure Ryan, my first opponent and a wonderful scholar, is giving a talk titled "Cyberspace, cybertexts, cybermaps". Those lectures are open to the public as well. (B54)

cyber-metal

I love Meshuggah, the only truly compulsive, beautiful cyber-metal band, (B77)

cyberplace

This is...odd: Amazon.com has launched a gourmet food store. So now you can get your cookbooks, your dishes, and your dinner all in one cyberplace. I don't know, I don't quite trust mail-order meat... (B88)

Cybersports

Denmark victorious in Cybersports! A Danish Team "Team 9" made it as nr. 3 in the official world championships in Counterstrike at the World Cyber Games), according to this article in Politiken. (B51)

cybertexts

I got my topic for the trial lecture I've got to give the day before my defence: "User-avatar relations in cybertexts". (B54)

cyberworld

And I, refreshed and rejuvenated -- and mildly exhausted -- have returned from the RWA conference ready to conquer the cyberworld! (B17)

This article is not really that much about cyberworld design (B51)

damnit

Damnit! I completely missed (or semi-completely missed) Wet Monday! (B57)

it didn't hurt to read the letters i wrote him because of what happened between us. it hurt because, damnit, that's me. in pain. that's me, raw and broken. (B23)

date-ish

So I met up with herself for dinner and a movie (how first date-ish), had a good night, then up early next morning to avoid study anyway while watching the snooker. (B108)

daycare-ready

I'm at home, writing this on the fly while Mia takes a nap. She's not quite daycare-ready (B24)

deal-breaker

I can imagine that if you're married to someone who's different from you in that way, it could be a deal-breaker. (B21)

Dean-hater(s)

I should add that Dean-haters ought to take note that whenever Dean has been attacked, he has only risen in the polls. (B75)

Deaniac

As a certified Deaniac, I have to say I would be outraged at this piece... (B75)

Deanies

I am sure this will provoke outrage by the Deanies, but here is a blunt look at the potential of Howard Dean as the Democratic Nominee (B75)

de-cluttering

I was going through a couple of my cupboards today trying to do some de-cluttering and I came across the presents and postcard that a certain somebody had sent to me (B16)

defragment(ed)

We defragmented the computer, which took forever (B52)

defunk(ed)

Now that my poor, beloved blog is defunked, I decided to move everything here until such time as I can get things up and running again. (B3)

I sent the tower along too, and he defunked it. (B4)

de-glovings

Speak to any of us later that evening when the shock of it all has been numbed by a cooling ale- or 20- ha ha- and we'll tell our own tales of near or actual self-damage: the lacerations, the bones poking through, the partial de-glovings. (B53)

de-hyp(ing)

Trying to sell the concept of blogging and social software to most business customers often requires a lot of de-hyping of the whole concept. (B47)

depressavator(s)

Then I listen to my cells die while I wait for the elevator to get up to 19 and ride it down to the lobby. Then I dejectedly plod over to the other set of depressavators for it to take me down to the parking garage (B92)

de-professionalization

And there is a growing literature (essays, editorials, position papers and the like) that addresses itself to the problem of de-professionalization. (B89)

deserter-in-chief

At least with our drunk-driving deserter-in-chief, we can cut a little slack for the fascinating variety of his personal incompetence. (B7)

design-oriented

In its June design issue, Fast Company put Procter & Gamble CEO A.G. Lafley on the cover and ran an interview about the company's design-oriented strategy. (B110)

design-thinker(s)

The design-thinkers though, the few that are deeply passionate about the science, they're worth their weight in gold. (B38)

destatised

- our political system 'destatised' (the shift from 'government' to 'governance' - from a state apparatus we saw as responsive to ideological contests transformed into a bunch of technocratic managers), (B90)

destressedness

However, the 5:30 - 7 Carmina rehearsal back to back with 7 - 8:30 play practice is forcefully working to undo earlier distressedness. (B57)

dew-kissed

And now you know my deepest, darkest, secret: I love the mist. I love fog, and misty rain, and dew-kissed mornings. (B72)

DHCP

I'm freshly signed up, so I'm not sure how the service handles DHCP - dynamic mapping of IP addresses. (B87)

DHTML

I'm looking for a good reference on JavaScript and DHTML (B34)

Nowadays, Google is dazzling us with their DHTML in Maps and Suggest. (B44)

diggable

From the sounds of it, my generation at this company are a diggable bunch, (B76)

digitality

Cool! I haven't been in a radio studio since I worked as a journalist in Studentradioen, and I quit that in 1992, in the dark ages, before digitality. (B54)

Digra

What is uplifting is that this is a line of game research not heavily pursued by the communities forming around Digra and other European based game-groups. (B48)

I've been afk for a while, attending the DIGRA conference in Vancouver. (B51)

dilruba

And I finished off with a blues solo that came after Avtar's solo on the dilruba. (B76)

directory-like

Another angle is that apart from tags being something you have to apply statistics on to discover relationships, there's also the potential for describing relationships in a formal fashion to work with the data in a more directory-like manner but still keeping the tagger flexibility. (B47)

discoverability

But I'm suspecting that most people who come to the CNET homepage go there either through a bookmark or by typing it in, so this redefinition of a de facto standard is a great way to expose site functionality and enhance the discoverability. (B93)

Disneyland-like

The financing of ethnic festivals and community centers, he wrote, amounts to the separation of minorities in Disneyland-like pockets of ethnicity frozen in time and out of context. (B97)

dive-buddies

2 other divers also found themselves incapable of continuing diving, so we had to find new dive-buddies. I teamed up with a Swedish girl, which was quite good. (B10)

DNS

DNS is a service that routes all web addresses (www.thislamewebsite.com) to their specific IP address (something like 123.12.23.34). (B57)

The iMac is great as a DNS, mailserver, and webserver as long as you don't have cgi and javascript running. (B109)

docu-movie

I actually got to choose between the mega box-office movie, Spiderman 2 and this small docu-movie by Michael Moore... but the latter was way much more appealing to me. (B14)

docu-thingy

My spouse 'n I watched the Kennedy PBS docu-thingy recently, and she was amazed that RFK was both articulate, polite, and APOLOGIZED for his involvement in starting the Vietnam War. (B75)

dog-sit

I am getting Dummy back for the week. I bet I forgot to mention that! I gave Dummy to the crazy former upstairs tenant to dog-sit while I was on location in Oklahoma. (B4)

dohyo

The rules are simple. Each opponent must try to force the other out of the ring(dohyo) or make the other touch the floor with a part of his body other than the feet. (B104)

Dohyo-iri

Dohyo-iri - A ceremony in which the wrestlers all enter the dohyo together to show themselves to the spectators. (B104)

doink

I am of course snarking away mainly because I'm a doink. (B92)

doohinky

the internet never works when you need it and the supplies that look just fine the night before turns out to be missing that little "doohinky" that would actually make it useful. (B58)

double-dubbed

We are happily under-equipped, but will be warm enough under all our layers. Hopefully on television there will be a movie which has only been dubbed into Russian, as opposed to being double-dubbed with Mongolian over the top of the all-male Russian dub. (B112)

down-ness

This is a belated post due to the busy-ness of the schedule and the down-ness of blogger. (B57)

downthread

And, to agree downthread, I too was raised to understand that it was "duck" not "poop" too. (B75)

dragonology

New field of study: Dragonology (B52)

drawaholic

The meeting just had to provide colored pencils, didn't it? I'm a drawaholic... and I went off the wagon today. I drew everything I saw, and then some... from a view outside the window, to a pirate ship (inspired by a crude version on a flipchart)... to the light fixtures, playdoh jars and even the pile of colored pencils themselves, (B58)

dress-staining

blue dress-staining hillbilly from Arkansas ("From Bong to Thong: The Bill Clinton Story"). (B35)

dropbox

(Linkers - the clips are in my dropbox) (B38)

drownee

(though apparently, they never learned that a drowning louis might drag the five them under and it is a foolish rescue team which does not throw a rope to the flailing drownee.) (B23)

drug-aided

Natural sleep is healthier than drug-aided sleep (B31)

drugfest

The real hippies are dazed and confused by the new Glastonbury, well let's be fair they were dazed and confused anyway, but they spent their youth protesting against globalization only to find their summer drugfest is now sponsored by Orange. (B96)

Dubya

Straight talk from Dubya... (B12)

Unless, of course, there's the issue of who's really running the country. I mean, all the people who tutored Dubya (unsuccessfully, I'd say) are currently serving him. (B24)

dudette

Still, this is, after all, a coastal town and there are ample beaches to be found, quite lovely ones even with world-famous bridges overhanging them and the occasional naked person or very attractive surfer dude/dudette/sexual persuasion of choice (B111)

dumbfuck(s)

On the flip side, let me give a great big BITE ME to those pinhead dumbfucks who work the computer department at a certain big box electronics store. (B4)

dumbitude

Of course, you might not be as stupid as me. This is devoutly to be hoped. But if you even suspect yourself of having near-me levels of dumbitude, heed my warning. (B92)

dunno

..so atleast when she passes away she wont be suffering and just may be happy...so i dunno it's just another depressing thing i have to go through... (B13)

If they could just change it from shooting tigers to....I dunno....hyenas or some other useless animal, that would be perfect. (B108)

dyndns

Dynamic DNS is sometimes labeled as dyndns. This is fun. (B57)

dyspraxic

Okay, am boring self. To sum up, I did an RE Exam which went fairly well, I think. Typed it because of dyspraxic blah. (B82)

E.S.B.C.

E.S.B.C. (Excellent Simpsons Based Conversation) (B57)

Earcons

Who ever heard of Earcons? I didn't, but I saw some things at GIST - Glasgow Interactive Systems Group. Earcons are "abstract, musical tones that can be used in structured combinations to create auditory messages. Blattner defines earcons as "non-verbal audio messages that are used in the computer/user interface to provide information to the user about some computer object, operation or interaction". They are based on musical sounds." (B52)

early-adopter

(You have a right to be annoyed that an early-adopter is wasting his account like this) (B15)

e-bay

I can't be bothered to list it on e-bay, now go away you cheap person with bad taste. (B49)

Everything was cheap, and I found a couple things to put on eBay (B4)

ebay-o-holic

Confessions of an ebay-o-holic OK, I'm not a TOTAL eBay-o-holic, (B17)

eBook(s)

Project Gutenberg has a French collection that is considerably larger than the Spanish, as well as eBooks in many other languages that range from Welsh to Chinese. (B50)

e-boutique

You've got your special features: a "Members Only" section with proprietary content, a little Shopping Cart e-boutique selling your logo gear, (B93)

ecommerce

Writing and news about digital media, ecommerce, strategy, RSS/Syndication, blogs, search, online classifieds, publishing and pop culture from a consultant, writer, and sometime entrepreneur. (B6)

e-democracy

The UK has seen the launch of some fantastic e-democracy projects in the last year (B55)

e-diarie(s)

This is why i delete my e-diaries, and burn the paper. (B24)

e-game(s)

But e-games represent a relatively neglected subject in Information Ethics. (B48)

eggcorn

Sometimes whether something's an eggcorn or just a mistake is a bit harder to tell (at least for me). (B99)

ego-surfing

Found it while ego-surfing (B51)

The perils of ego-surfing. For the record, this is not me. And I'm glad it ain't. (B93)

e-government / eGovernment

And governments as well as e-marketers will need national stats to inform educational, e-government and other policies. (B80)

Thanks to Gary Price for this report on a European Commission/NSF project on "Quality of Service and Legitimacy in eGovernment," a multi-institution initiative to improve the delivery of government services. (B 80)

e-journal

Clancy points to the digressions part of the e-journal Lore , (B48)

e-learning

At the same time, however, at least some games may be argued to have ethical and social value as they enhance social and other sorts of skills, serve as an attractor in e-learning environments, etc. (B48)

electro-dancadelica

On the other hand, sitting in and listening to glistening electro-dancadelica doesn't appeal either. Do people buy these Balearic and Trance compilations to listen to at home? (B77)

e-list(s)

I'd expect Loren to be adept at the art of blogging since he often has useful posts to e-lists I frequent (B67)

emailbox

Should you be worried? Nahh.. its just harmless fun, its just spamming your mailbox, get another new email address and your problem is solve! (B84)

e-marketer(s)

And governments as well as e-marketers will need national stats to inform educational, e-government and other policies. (B80)

empty-lunged

And he slipped on his shoes and ran, empty-lunged, down the street, and he grabbed another taxi, and it raced to the hospital. (B77)

empty-stomached

behind that pinched, hairless face is a sea of buttock-clenched, empty-stomached fear. (B77)

e-newsletter(s)

Ten years ago, Americans may have felt some anxiety over the magazines and newspapers piling up at home, but today the anxiety is increasing as bits appear in all areas of our lives. E-mail, websites, e-newsletters, chat rooms, e-mail, instant (B65)

eNews

Finally, a link to an interesting site I found via Womens eNews Daily: Voices of Choice, (B49)

ENFP

Interesting Here is a decent label for my personality. ENFP (B74)

ENTP

Also, one of the primary inspirations for this site is PeterMe, which may also constitute a virtual self-weblog for me, in that Peter Merholz is also an ENTP, (B93)

ePay

...Sitting at home not doing anything on a Friday night. Thought i make myself useful by creating a design concept website for the ePay project (B84)

epilogic

we are living in the dying, epilogic days of history. Maybe this is just me. (B77)

e-promos

The writer writes about a phenomena, he coins (?) e-promos. (B51)

escalatorial

I was intrigued to hear that there are signs up around the escalators fobidding photographs. I have subsequently spent a considerable amount of time pondering why this would be. Are they the latest in escalatorial technology (B53)

ESCR

Part of what got Bush elected was his pro-life stance. Now he has to deliver something to those who elected him and, more broadly, all those who hope to end abortion and prevent ESCR and cloning. Will he? Can he? (B83)

esoooper

I'll be there! Yes I will be!!! I am esoooper excited, those are the first plans that I have made in two weeks!!! (B57)

have esoooper fun tonite!!! (B57)

essay-writingness

The first question was good, second was *horrible* and I'm sure that I babbled which is most unlike my essay-writingness (B82)

e-Therapy

Online e-Therapy is now becoming a popular form for dealing with stress, divorce, depression and other emotional issues. (B31)

EULA

Art Under Contract makes the eminently skippable EULA (end-user license agreements) into physical objects (B87)

Euro-family

It was like a really, really good looking Euro-family. (B78)

europorn

Most of this stuff is from the long, imperceptibly slow decline of Cinecitta and "La Dolce Vita", as Italy and Europe prepared the ground for their sour Seventies, the '68 generation as a prelude for the Red Brigades, Baader Meinhof gang and europorn like the Emmanuelle films. (B32)

EuroRailers

In all of my foreign language experience, I've always had a good accent. Years ago in Germany, riding a train full of fellow EuroRailers (many of them German), I was often asked what part of Germany I came from. (B98)

eurotoilet

Well, I have a weird eurotoilet and it doesn't have a handle one can easily reach, instead is has this ultra modern and completely silly chrome button sitting dead center on the tank lid (B111)

ever-enlarging

This film provides an in-depth look at Fox News and the dangers of ever-enlarging corporations taking control of the public's right to know (B12)

ever-giggling

And there are the girls—young, chocolate-skinned, ever-giggling naked girls with sleek wet bodies (B99)

ever-more-profitable

software and networks we use daily in a process that seems determined to make us little more than fodder for an ever-more-profitable army of passive and fearful consumers. (B87)

ever-so-carefully

"You are indeed a SINGLE----young----lady," he said weighing each word, ever-so-carefully. (B78)

ever-so-cheerful

Things got ever-so-cheerful after that when JL gave us a Section C question from the History Mox paper. (B82)

ever-so-daring

So I've fallen in love with this extra cute and ever-so-daring tangerine Mandarin Duck rollaway which, if you know anything about design, means "oh my god look at that thing what the hell is it, it is so cool that I must acquire it for myself because, hello, jealous much?" (B111)

ever-so-important

It's a chance for me to keep track of things I've seen during the week and am really impressed by, or anything new that I want to share my ever-so-important opinion about! (B71)

ex-aide

Published in The New Paper today is an article about an US Senator's ex-aide, Jessica Cutler aka Washingtonienne who was fired for detailing her sexual encounters in venues in official Washington on her sex blog. (B1)

examwise

Examwise, things are fine. French reading yesterday was fairly OK - (B82)

ex-arboreous

Unlike most documents, whether digital or ex-arboreous, you can inspect the way Wikipedia's articles have been edited, expanded, rewritten for readability and so on. (B80)

ex-ATI

As an ex-ATI guy myself, I certainly relate! (B81)

excitement-wise

The other day I was taking a nap before having to go to rehearsal, and I hit some serious REM sleep, because I started dreaming very, very hard. I don't tend to remember very many dreams for some reason, but this one was a doozy; (...) if Luxembourg has any geopolitics to speak of, and I'm already weak with boredom even thinking about that, but it's still a flaming-hoop act, excitement-wise, compared to that damn dream. (B92)

expeditioner(s)

I would like to send love and seasonal handshakes today to the following people (...) expeditioners, uni mates, london mates, and a hundred others I forget (B76)

explicature

I typed in one of those obscure words (explicature) and I was indeed impressed by the 189 results generated (although I was also impressed by the 296 results from google). (B59)

expository

Expository section warning: A few months ago, I went to see a show at the same exact venue, (B106)

eye-glazing

Observers are beginning to realize that California's electricity crisis isn't the product of "deregulation" after all, as USA Today reports. For proof that explaining the issues doesn't require eye-glazing wonk talk, see Michael Lynch's Reason Online column. (B110)

eye-openingly

The crowd didn't understand the length of the piece and clapped a lot, but it was cool. It was eye-openingly gorgeous. A show-stopper, literally. (B106)

ezines

Magazines, Ezines, & Such (B105)

fabulism

I will simply say that though there are exceptions and grey areas, overall it seems a relatively accurate way to describe much of what is comfortably seen as science fiction (not speculative fiction, fantasy, or fabulism) (B105)

Facetime-inclined

"Facetime-inclined netizens"!? Yikes! I guess I must be really out of it if I'm not hep to the latest jive. (B85)

fanfic

She gave me some links to fanfic sites/boards I hadn't discovered and some of the stories I've read so far are awesome (B16)

Fantazing

Made cheese quiche. Fantazing (B79)

fashion-forward

Sunday morning and had knitted a fashion-forward shawl by the time we took him out for his morning potty break. (B12)

fat-full

Thats a positively ripe old age. And here I was thinking my current fat-full diet would see me off in 10 or so years! (B108)

faux-Brit

Faux-Brit accent must be tolerated. (B78)

faux-brushed

I could reiterate why I hate faux-brushed metal pseudo-realistic "devices" as interfaces, but the good folks over at Isys Information Architects have already covered the subject quite eloquently. (B93)

faux-friend

But the summer after she graduated from high school, one of her faux-friend / classmates (let's call her Meg) hosted a series of parties . . . (B24)

fear-monger

He's yelling for people to repent and generally carrying on like a corner apocalyptic preacher. I called the show and gave him an earful about the fear-monger he is. In his eyes, there is no way anyone can practice yoga without being drawn into Hindu. (B83)

feature-packed

(...)feature-packed cell phone, you can look like you are talking on a phone half a century older. (B34)

After looking at his wife's new feature-packed cell phone, (B38)

female-authored

Do female-authored sites really require such separate (but I'm sure equal) treatment? (B55)

femi-machismos

our machismos, our femi-machismos, our misplaced individualism (B77)

feminazis

Is this national "Hassle the Feminazis" week or something? Did Scotland Yard find out that the International Order of the Feminist Conspiracy was behind the London bombings? (B49)

festantrekk

For the defence itself you should choose a festantrekk, as you'd wear to a wedding, a christening or on 17. mai: a dark suit, a bunad or even a tuxedo (B54)

fhqwhgads!

...fhqwhgads! (B57)

fic(s)

Other than that, I haven't touched any of my fics. I keep receiving e-mails from people asking me when the next part's going to be posted which is very flattering but it just makes me feel even worse for not updating. (B18)

Figmentalism

Figmentalism (B85)

filibuster-proof

The Republicans will not have a filibuster-proof 60-seat majority in the Senate. (B9)
If Republicans manage to turn the other four states and, say, Minnesota, which seems to be trending Republican (though admittedly from a very left starting position), they've got a filibuster-proof majority. (B62)

filipino-ised

You know your white boyfriend has been filipino-ised when he starts singing this in the shower (B8)

finaling

I was entering it in contests and it was finaling, but usually w/ the comment that I was working a really tough market. (B17)

finger-paint

do you like to finger-paint?] (B74)

firelizard(s)

Only some of the role play had backfired into reality. I no longer remember every detail, lucid and logical though they were, but it involved pern-type firelizards (miniature dragons), (B48)

fisk(ed)

Jones is also fished by Jarvis and Ernie Miller (B6)

fisking

In my fisking of Ross Clark I mentioned that I would explain the theory behind tilting trains. So here we go. (B37)

Pejman's adopted both tactics: make false accusations, and repeat them in so many places with so many words, that people won't pay attention to the original fisking he suffered, because who has time to read through so much garbage? (B64)

flashback-filled

Here was fight scenes, intercut with incomprehensible, flashback-filled, soft-focus romance (B93)

flashmob

Having people arrested for taking place in a flashmob is not the kind of attention we are seeking. (B84)

FlashMobbing

...The SydMob (Sydney FlashMobbing Group) has released the following message about SydMob #2. Harmless fun. (B84)

flatass(ed)

I still don't like the term. It still stikes me as someone saying that 'we're smarter than everyone else'. If Dean is the Bright then what is everybody else, the Dims? It's flatassed arrogance, if you ask me, which nobody did. (B64)

flip-flopper

But you also don't like that John Kerry is a "flip-flopper," or that he "takes both sides of an issue." (B21)

fontography

Fontography Ever seen German text in Comic Sans MS? (B88)

foodcast

If things get crowded, we can walk down to the neighborhood park. If we don't have enough food, we can go to the story or pizza place. Heck, maybe someone can beericast/foodcast the event! (B41)

fooflah

The Better Bad News folk did a take on the AutoLink fooflah, which is worth a chuckle (B72)

four-banger(s)

What he doesn't mention, though, is that the quarter mile times given for the four-bangers are ludicrous. B 17 to B 20 seconds? (B109)

frames-free

Does someone want to volunteer to help Perry Hoberman update his site, and make it frames-free? (B87)

freestyling

While filming his documentary, Gunner Palace, Michael Tucker ran into some soldiers who were better at expressing themselves through freestyling than in a traditional on camera interview (B5)

ftp-ing

New website due up today and last night as I was furiously ftp-ing, the computer died. (B53)

fuckheadery

Email me with your self-righteous fuckheadery. Example: I just received this from one Mark D. Firestone, who seems to think I give a shit what he thinks (B64)

fugly

See fugly interface here. (B93)

funology

And issue 5, 2004 was a themed issue on "Funology" (primarily from an interface perspective, but it includes articles on both games and webdesign) (B51)

furniture-less

...the dream following this bloke home, where it turns out he's living in a furniture-less hovel (B108)

gameblog(s)

But I haven't come across it before. Lists "all" gameblogs by categories and alphabetically etc, (B51)

gamerz

Not only can gamerz vote for their favorite FICTIONAL vixen (B4)

gank

Be rather picky. Its easy to tell if some clients will gank a lot of your time yet hassle you when it comes down to the line for payments. (B74)

ps - I'll have a "Health" folder up in the nav menu soon with links of mirrored websites I ganked all the information I used for this little blog. (B74)

gargoyle-ish

Evanescence: stadium Goth, mais oui, but also something rather nicely Meatloaf about them, something gothic, embroidered, gargoyle-ish, in the aesthetic sense, like a gothic cathedral (B77)

garlickiest

At first I thought, not a problem, I don't generally eat anything too fun, however I ordinarily have a cast-iron tummy and can chow down the hottest of salsas, the garlickiest of breads and the richest French sauces you can pour over a rare slice of meat. (B111)

gawdawful

Finally after 3 hours of this gawdawful, shrill evening, we both bid our farewells and slunk into the night. (B4)

gayish

Sal told me the grass is all male these days - it's homosexual - so there's much more (gayish) pollen about. (B101)

geek-chic

Hearing all that was strangely comforting. In my own insecure head, I was still uncool, geeky, not even geek-chic (B42)

geekery

Finally switched this heap o' junk over to WordPress, from my own home grown system. Home ownership and summertime fun leaves little time for extra-curricular geekery. (B27)

Mainly, I'm happy it's not all geekery, which has some, but limited use! (B76)

geeza

Catch that geeza... (B32)

Gen-X-er(s)

I guess someone decided that there were more Gen-X-ers than rednecks out there (thank god), (B25)

geotagging

geotagging network access (B87)

giftee

When the gift's in the mail, and the giftee doesn't want it anymore, (B42)

gigantor

You know I am on the verge of buying one of those kiddy keyboards -- one of those gigantor things in bright pink or yellow with the humongous keys. (B64)

girlyed

They girlyed around before settling down into bed. (B76)

globaliser(s)

Surely, today's enthusiastic globalisers are only telling us part of the truth? (B90)

gmail

A universal sign-in: I was able to *join* with my gmail log in (B6)
i'm katekinks and i have a gmail account. feel free to contact me (B22)

Gollum-esque

My Gollum-esque reaction to the fire alarm going off around an hour ago, louder than usual. (B50)

goof-ball

She's the only freakin' girl who will refute an Economist header and stop mid-sentence to follow a goof-ball C-lister. (B78)

google(ed)(ing)

wow! the joys of random internet surfing will never cease to amaze me. i found this little page of reviews while doing a google search for more Ted Leo lyrics. (B106)
But when I googled for pictures with "Branson Rutan", I got to this story involving both gentlemen dated February 11th 2004. (B37)
While googling around trying to see if there was a working version of Depression 2.0 out there (B56)

Google-based

For those who enjoyed Googlism, Jay Manifold recommends another Google-based site, Google Fight. Here's the TFAIE-based fight (B110)

Google-derived

One writer suggests expanding googlephrasing: "I hereby propose to pile two more Google-derived neologisms onto the word-hoard: googletheming and googlerheming. (B65)

googlephrase / googlephrased / googlephrasing

Following up on last week's column, Google = Good Experience, this week I add another creative use of Google: the googlephrase. (B65)
One writer suggests expanding googlephrasing: "I hereby propose to pile two more Google-derived neologisms onto the word-hoard: googletheming and googlerheming. (B65)
To keep things balanced, I googlephrased "loves George Bush" and got ... (B65)

Google-related

Several such Google-related activities are already in action (B65)

googlerheming

One writer suggests expanding googlephrasing: "I hereby propose to pile two more Google-derived neologisms onto the word-hoard: googletheming and googlerheming. (B65)

googletheming

One writer suggests expanding googlephrasing: "I hereby propose to pile two more Google-derived neologisms onto the word-hoard: googletheming and googlerheming. (B65)

Google-rigg(ed)

I've Google-rigged an English version of the Der Spiegel article. (B7)

googlewhackin

googlewhacking (B65)

googling

After the surfing, the tinkering, the prattling, the yahooing and googling, I'm gonna go get my breakfast before my brain shuts down on me. (B8)

Googlism

For those who enjoyed Googlism, Jay Manifold recommends another Google-based site, Google Fight. Here's the TFAIE-based fight (B110)

goole-like

'm just wondering that if there's just only pictorial clue of what I want to find some information about then what kind of goole-like thing can I use? (B87)

gore-gushing

spirit that got thousands cut down in the first gore-gushing seconds of the Somme, Paschendaele, Ypres.... (B77)

Gothardite

I've been involved in fundamentalist circles and for years was a big time Gothardite (B81)

GPL

Speaking of which, do you want to adopt the Semant-O-Matic? I just got permission to release it under the GPL. It needs a good home. (B2)

GPRS

This seemed straight out of Disneyland. So, I called Ben and asked his opinion on the picture. Since I couldn't get GPRS working on my phone, I couldn't send the picture of the painting I took. (B40)

griefing

And so, as the game had been created to make griefing impossible, to actually manage grief-play became a major challenge, and as such the sign of a really skilled player. (B48)

grief-play

And so, as the game had been created to make griefing impossible, to actually manage grief-play became a major challenge, and as such the sign of a really skilled player. (B48)

GRUUUHH!-ing

GRUUUHH!-ing (B92)

guac

Moreover, I know Sonia loves the guacamole, so I ate it as fast as I could in an incredibly mature and really appropriate effort to spite her. So I'm wolfing down chips and guac (B21)

guestbook

I really liked the music of Kate Cassidy. I went to her website, and after reading for a while I decided to write in her guestbook, just to let her know I really liked her music. (B10)

guest-post

Incidentally, I've been booked to guest-post this week over at UK blog commune Uborka. (B22)

gunked up

Those get all gunked up with toothpaste, and need to be maintained...) (B4)

gun-nut

I'm sensing a pattern here. I'll look for more examples of gun-nut citizens saving the day, but most of the American media doesn't report those cases. (B109)

gut-bomb(s)

He is almost certainly in the bathroom loudly delivering a fresh payload of gut-bombs (B92)

gynormous

Well, mainly one tip, involving the Thor character in the Ruins in the demo. He's the one who's as tall as a skyscraper, and carries a gynormous hammer. (B85)

hackable

The Zipit kids' IM appliance is hackable (B94)

hailstoning

Malcolm and I had a banquet at a Lebanese restaurant and had a Saturday hailstoning with beer/people/conversation. (B76)

hairdue

Just to let you know how fucked up my hairdue is right now, take a look at this picture. A selfportrait done over a month ago. (B10)

half-assing

Have You Ever Spent \$32 on Two Beers? No? Well, you should try half-assing some Texas Hold 'Em. Seriously, I should be at the kiddie table. (B24)

half-consciousness

Jill only allowed me a two hour nap and fixed me a traditional Norweigan meal of ravioli and salad. I'm about to fall over, but I did win the first round of Scrabble even in a half-consciousness stupor and if I stay up another couple hours, I'll be on Bergen time, hopefully. (B56)

half-conversation(s)

Then again, same old, more drinks, more half-conversations, more broken accents that succumbed to slurring (B78)

Halle-fucking-lujah

So when someone actually makes it to the end, it is time to put down your pens, walk into that unknown expanse known as "outside", raise your arms aloft and sing great praises to the big academic journal in the sky, often accompanied by a whooping cry of Halle-fucking-lujah. (B45)

handycam

I'm mesmerized by footage taken by a doctor, a handycam in one hand, a medical bag in the other, as he makes his way through the dust cloud between collapses. (B32)

Handy-esque

Yesterday was "Try to Prove Yourself Handy" Day. I had quite a list of handy-esque things to accomplish. And being that I'm handy in the same way that George Bush is a capable president, I think I did okay. (B24)

hautest

Babs is inflaming her firemen's appetites with the hautest cuisine they've ever had. Tortilla wrap, chargrilled chicken Caesar salad, you name it - Babs has put it on the plate. They adore her. The way to a man's heart is surely via a menu. (B101)

haxor(ing)

The big problem I'm already running into is cars were not developed to allow easy haxoring while driving. (B74)

Headism

Chris Anderson has just published a great piece on his Long Tail blog called The dangers of "Headism". Go read it if you're into all that. (B44)

heart-al

Something inside there, something near my heart-al region, felt hot and sharp and hard and thick and awful. (B111)

heartbrokenly

i don't want to remember the nick world exists. that there is someone out there who i told of myself so truthfully and heartbrokenly. (B23)

heat-or-food

Until you can convince poor, white, and yes, frequently Southern families to vote against the Republicans who oppose these kinds of programs, you're going to continue to to have illiteracy, heat-or-food poverty, and the PATRIOT act. (B21)

heckuva

I kept seeing a sign for the same road over and over again and, remembering the meandering Bear Creek, commented to my husband that "Linker Baan," which I had tentatively translated as "Linker Lane," must be one heckuva twisty road to have the freeway cross it so many times. (B88)

hella

Don't cave in here to the pressure to demonize the rich. First, you are rich. Second, your wife is hella-rich. Third, rich people aren't bad, and fourth, nobody hates the rich (even the poor). (B21)

hetero-challenged

what good is having a network of equally hetero-challenged friends if you can't use their unused bodily fluids (B111)

hiphugger(s)

The real problem is the short shirts. What I want is hiphuggers and shirts that are long enough to *cover* the revealed tummy (B49)

hip-pop

Can music ever be truly beneficial to the wider society? Or is the future of music just the atomisation of anything that isn't solid POP and the hegemony of hip-pop and sexless R'n'B. (B77)

Hispano-centric

Third International Spanish Language Congress in Rosario, Argentina, an alternative movement held its I Congreso de laS LenguaS (S for plurality, intercultural and metissage) in protest at their exclusion from the purely Hispano-centric discussions. (B80)

historize

I've tried to track and "historize" the Danish Research Blogs, I know of and have been able to find. (B51)

Hobolicious

(this picture's too Hobolicious for you babe) (B79)

Hokage

He struggles to graduate from the Ninja Academy to become the next great Hokage, unknown of the sealed demon within. (B8)

hollywoodspeak

So I went from my first audition (Where I kicked ass, thank you very much- I'm told that I'm "in the mix" which is hollywoodspeak for "we're considering you (B25)

homodiegetic

Wow. I am so impressed. Not only do I have interactivity, definition and narrator, homodiegetic, (...) (B54)

horndog

This whole impeachment fight has gone way beyond a stained blue dress. It is now about something much bigger than "Bill Clinton". Regardless of how you feel about this horndog, the Radical Right and its agenda of hate must be stopped. (B35)

horrorific

Duly noted.] Later, I felt that Shadrach's journey into the Underground went on a little too long, and the plot seemed to push us forward from one horrific genetic nightmare to another, as if walking through a museum. (B105)

horsethieving

I enjoyed watching the horses, regardless, and it kind of dovetailed nicely with the novel, in which there's a great deal of horseriding and horsethieving going on. (B58)

Animal House-esque

i got to hang out in a frat house (it was very Animal House-esque) (B57)

huggle(s)

So here's lotsa huggles from me *hugglehugglehuggle* and hopefully I'll be able to log on on Monday morning PH time. (B8)

By the way, am very impressed with the 14-comment train that Andy had with Jen et Gem. *grin* We have zee readers! *huggles all who read* (B82)

huisvrouw

So, I come to South Africa and, in response to my fair (read that "fried red by the sun before I could find an SPF B 100 sunscreen") coloring and chunky (uh huh...now there's a euphemism for ya...) physique, people immediately assume I am an Afrikaner huisvrouw until I open my mouth and my American accent pops out. (B88)

humdrumery

Friday's theme is going to focus on foods. Yum! I certainly do love to eat but often get bored with the same old options at home or work. Well...not work anymore. Ha! *snort* Anyway the humdrumery must be broken somehow - and what better motivation than needing to post in my blog?! (B71)

humdrumness

Humdrumness was to be broken today by a lovely outing for a job interview, previously written about in this very blog! (B71)

HVT

The New Republic has learned that Pakistani security officials have been told they must produce HVTs [high value targets, e.g., Bin Laden] by the election. (B7)

hyper-accelerated

Now we in the blogging world have our very own hyper-accelerated instance of shorthand meme evolution and adaptation. (B34)

Hyperdictionary

Check out this new project. Hyperdictionary I just found this site thanks to carried away. (B12)

hyperintelligence

he doesn't have to go into school because of his hyperintelligence problem. (B82)

iBook

A lot of people in the tech crowd may have heard of his biggest project, giving every middle school student in Maine a laptop (iBook). (B2)

For those not familiar with the issues iBook owners were having with the laptop, you can read my entry from September 2002 and July 2003. (B40)

iChat

Apple: "Tiger" Server. "Tiger" Server will feature weblog hosting, an iChat server and tools to migrate more easily from Windows servers. (B47)

idah

But we didn't celebrate it yet due to the 'mourning period' of my late father's passing. I guess, now with my mum has finished her "idah" period and my big Sis at home, we could organize something for them when I'm back there. (B14)

idiotarian

ANOTHER VILLAGE LET THEIR IDIOTARIAN SLIP OUT (B63)

IDIOTICY

RID USD OF THS BUSH IDIOTICY! (B82)

ignoranimous

What an ignoranimous! (B94)

IM

I've heard via IM/email from a couple of ex-colleagues this week which was nice. (B28)

iMac

Andrew, I'm running this site off a \$B 700 iMac over a cable modem, and I'm not having these sorts of troubles. (B109)

IMDb / IMDB

After I saw the pilot, I came online and checked out a couple of the actors on IMdb as they looked familiar. (B16)

Never heard of the director, I'll IMDB him later. (B109)

im-fucken-pissed-off

...Two burglars broke into my parents' house today, my initial feeling was im-fucken-pissed-off, i'll beat the crap out of them if i saw them. After evaluate the damages and the stolen goods im in a better mood. (B84)

IM-ing / IMing

She disbelieves this notion... so I'd like you to help her find out by IM-ing her and telling her if you have her IM and emailing her if you don't. (B28)

Poor Jai has been IMing me and we've been complaining about the volume of revision we are meant to get through together (B82)

immanentize

Some words I wish I could use more often, but I can't because so few people are familiar with them. "Immanentize" is a great word for the kind of writing I do, but most folks guess that it means something like "inadvertently swallowing a breath mint". (B85)

inbox

It's hard to beat an inbox overflowing with wacky pictures and poems. (B5)

infodump

The "Voxpop" splash screen serves as a sendup of Salon (of course the alternate universe's Salon would focus on Zawahiri's danger fetish) and as a way of introducing the story; since we know that Farley's war is largely being fought remotely, over the net, it also serves as a rather elegant infodump. (B94)

info-graphics

During the course of his "diet", interviews and wonderful animated info-graphics present a considerable amount of information about health in America, marketing to children, school lunches, sugar/diabetes, and much much more. (B5)

instant-messaging

Take ICQ, the instant-messaging pioneer, which flourished after its 1B 9B 98 sale to America Online. (B110)

instant messengering

She's instant messengering mash notes to someone (I see the phrases "thats so hot" and "mmm"), (B92)

Internet-accessibility

Thank you everyone for reading. I'm still battling Internet-accessibility issues at work, but I'm going to try and catch up with everyone soon. If I haven't stopped by to see you in a while, that's why. (B24)

Internet-connected

eleven seconds: "I'm sitting here having some tea, listening to a tape i made off the radio..." Wow, people still do that? Internet-connected people? I had no idea. (The taping the radio part, not the tea part. Then again, I don't see that very often these days, either.) (B68)

Internet-Free

I missed this one -- Jan 25th was International Internet-Free Day. (B56)

internet-heavy

Meanwhile, although the list is predictably internet-heavy, it's nice to see Dick Smith made the top 100 – and nearly top 10, coming in a number 12 – April Fool's hoaxes of all time. Congratulations. (B91)

Internet-less

I'll be mostly Internet-less until after New Year's (B75)

interventionally

Under threat, the U.S. is unsurprisingly isolationist even while it may be acting interventionally. (B91)

intoxicated

Drunken texts have replaced snogging colleagues at work parties as the biggest embarrassment of the festive season. The problem of texting under the influence is so common it has been given a name "intoxicated". Around B 60 million texts are sent every day in December. (B55)

iPod

I forgot my iPod. By the time I realized, it was too late to go back for it. (B5)

irc

It was a delightful day on irc, and I can't wait to get back home tonight ;) (B10)

Islamoloonies

'm sorry that my support for the war against Saddam Hussein and the rest of the Islamoloonies out there can't be fit into the slot of "oh, it's just because Bush is president and she has an altar to him in her apartment." (B64)

isolette / isolet

Another milestone: she moved to a "crib" yesterday. The "crib" is actually a plastic box that is open at the top-- opposed to the isolette which is a closed box with portholes. (B20)

Britta is fiery and fiesty in the NICU, and the nurses even called her the healthiest baby in an isolet. (B20)

Jihacking

On this day, I am hereby inventing the word "Jihacking" (pronounced Jee-Hacking), which I define as "creating nasty computer code to annoy the heck out of American infidels". Please note that it does not mean, "I was trying to write 'hijacking' but I can't type for beans". (B85)

journaler(s)

There's an article yesterday's Age about the benefits of keeping a journal and how it can, apparently, boost your psychological health. Interestingly, according to one researcher, it would appear that writing about painful or traumatic events initially tends to make the journaler depressed, rather than relieved or unburdened. (B53)

Assuming that my perception is accurate, i'm pretty convinced that bloggers (note: not LJers or other journalers) are primarily straight white men. (B55)

ka-ching

About fifteen minutes later (that's \$32. 50 – ka-ching!), she put aside her stainless steel hook for a moment and remarked, conversationally, "You know why your gums don't bleed?" (B85)

Kennedyites

The Democratic Party is, at the moment, a remarkably heterogeneous assembly, with Clintonites, Kennedyites, (B63)

kewl

He seems like a really kewl person. (B10)

kickass

It is a kickass site. (B10)

This is certainly not everyone but a small selection of kickass women and folks/tools that support subversion. (B55)

klatching

I spent today recovering and reading The Rule of Four (a fabulous book that Kathleen and I will soon be klatching about. My sneak preview? I give it two thumbs up. (B17)

k-logging

With Safari RSS and Blojsom Apple is becoming a very interesting k-logging environment. (B47)

knicking

That bucking, almost cheery riff powers in, duh-de-duh, the riff Cobain so honestly admitted to knicking. (B77)

Konglish

I actually can't tell if certain things are English or Konglish (Korean English). In severe cases, I will log onto ICQ and seek out an English-speaking friend in desperation. (B36)

Koreaniz(ed)

Although I am American, I have become so Koreanized (and it pains me terribly to write that, I must confess) that the judges who read my early attempts at literary translation assumed I was Korean. (B36)

l337 / l33t

New Email address to all my little army of friends out there. Isn't it l337? Yeah, my official name is Tanja, by the way, if you haven't guessed (B8)

k. I like saying silly l33t stuff. you'll have to forgive me (B87)

lambhood

A word about sheep. Yes, the lambs are very damn cute, absolutely ridiculously cute in fact, particularly when they start their hopping bouncing Love of Life dance in green fields, or when twin lambs sleep together in the sun, little knobbly-kneed puddles of white woolly lambhood (B112)

language-sourced

As a global, language-aware technology provider, Google would have internationalized its basic blogger software right at start-up. And it has almost certainly anticipated the possibility of providing language-sourced advertising to the next generation of bloggers. (B80)

lariat-twirler

Let's add an ability to be heard to a right to speak." Nobody would listen to a populist lariat-twirler in the year 2001, so I suppose that (as with the William Gates-backed efforts to prevent repeal of the inheritance tax) we've got to rely on people with huge amounts of wealth to get the word out. (B94)

launch-thing

That's where I come in. TNN asked me to go to the "TCA" (when you're a hip, edgy, media-savvy person, you use lots of acronyms, FYI) and be part of this TNG launch-thing. (B25)

learn-a-holic

I forgot - if you're a learn-a-holic like me, you might enjoy this site. (B79)

leastly

Lastly But Not Leastly (B71)

leper-esque

What the heck does "looking healthy" mean? Should I have leper-esque sores pussing all over my body for people to think perhaps something might not be going quite right? (B20)

lifeguardy

all the TV you ever watch shows David Hasselhoff walking around bloaty and smiling and half-naked and lifeguardy or fighting vampires or singing in German or whatever the hell he's up to lately. (B111)

lighthandedly

It's not just a question of being better at making priorities, since there are many tasks and communications I have handled very lighthandedly - I seriously have the feeling, that if I was to do heading, supervision and research "perfectly" I would be working 24-7. (B51)

linearisable

An example of the prescriptive symmetry approach for solving IVPs within the classical framework is the iterative approach for linear (and linearisable) PDEs. (B48)

linkblog

They fall somewhere between the blog and linkblog. (B44)

litotic

If I have my doubts (well, not any more – I just looked it up), isn't it likely that many readers will just "blip" over the word, assuming I know what I'm doing? If that's the case, why use the word in the first place? To show off? Yeah, yeah, it was precisely the word I wanted in that litotic context, but ... (B85)

livecam

Apparently there's a fly on the wall TV documentary about the tube which is starting today. Hope it's not going to be just a livecam in a tube carriage because it will be duller than Big Brother 3 watching and listening to most commuters. (B100)

live-streamed

On Wednesday there's another live-streamed seminar from HUMlab, where Helen Kennedy will be speaking on gender and computer games. Why not check it out? (B60)

lj-cut

This post is a distillation of a lot of conversations I've had over the past few months, and a couple of comments I made in other peoples journals, and it's about why I'm really not a journal kind of guy. It might turn out to be rather long. I'm not going to use lj-cut though, because damnit this is not a blog. (B15)

LJers

Assuming that my perception is accurate, i'm pretty convinced that bloggers (note: not LJers or other journalers) are primarily straight white men. (B55)

logophilia

Eat More Words was going to be a logophilia site (that is, devoted to devotees of words), with online access to the O.E.D., a community blog, and so forth. (B34)

long-hyped

This game has been long-hyped and I've seen it at a few different trade shows; (B87)

loser-ish / loserish

I can see what he means, but I don't like the loser-ish overtones of it. (B53)
And I was going to say "and that's why reading and writing aren't lonely and loserish" but I've shot myself in the foot, haven't I? (B53)

LOTR

The effects are much better than AOTC (except for the scene where they have 5/6 Jango Fett heads stuck onto clones - looked a bit iffy). The culling of the Jedi especially is some of the best stuff I've seen since the heady LOTR days. (B108)

lubed

The wheels, my god, they must have been lubed with some super-slick oil created in secret labs in Area B 51, it was moving of its own volition and simply would not right itself and assume the position it was in prior to my touching it. (B111)

macguffin-ing

so if any of you are looking for me 430ish-8ish Mondays and Tuesdays....im macguffin-ing! with guns! (B57)

machine-ruled

Question of the day

Why does the machine-ruled world of the future keep producing Terminators with Austrian accents? (B88)

Macintosh-centric

Macintosh-centric search engine (B50)

magazin-a-holic

I write. And reading is complimentary to writing. And I am a magazine whore. Opps, did I just say whore? I mean -holic. Like a magazin-a-holic. Like an alcoholic but without the... (B78)

malware

First, virus writers will release a topical new piece of malware. (B72)

marketscape

Certainly, corporations can and do change the marketscape, but only within the fairly immovable constraints placed upon them by consumer desires (B62)

matter-of-factly

"Here is my autopsy," I said matter-of-factly. (B78)

meatspace

I just met for the first time in meatspace: Jason, Jack, Brigitte, Maura, Robert, Christina, Ariana, Lane, and Ben. (B68)

Interesting terminology in that article. I've never heard the word "meatspace", before. I prefer the acronym "RL" (Real Life) (B85)

meddlocrats

Oh God, this is the future - Jeremy Clarkson lays into the "meddlocrats" who, in the name of pedestrian safety, will soon have us driving around in BMW Wardrobes, Ford Tallboys and, if things get really bad, Honda Civics ... (B37)

media-savvy

That's where I come in. TNN asked me to go to the "TCA" (when you're a hip, edgy, media-savvy person, you use lots of acronyms, FYI) and be part of this TNG launch-thing. (B25)

meetup

There's some breaking news, which was first mentioned here, but details are emerging over at Snowy's place. Apparently, there is a 'blogger meetup' happening. (B24)

merge-a-phobia

It is a stunningly comprehensive paper, laying out 32 patterns (eight each for elements, creation, policy and structuring), then working through variations of a number of them, and ending with traps

and pitfalls (13 of them, including merge-a-phobia, branch-a-holic, the never-ending branch, (...)
(B34)

mermaid-esque

I mean I guess it was a compliment, I'm just not really sure why my mermaid-esque qualities were emphasized today . . . haha (B57)

meta-ness

I am struck by the irony that I am not reading this book out of an actual desire to read this book, but because it is a prerequisite to reading yet another book that--I suddenly now realize--I really don't care about reading too much either (it was a gift). At this point, the whole meta-ness is starting to suck at my neck, so I blow it off and get down to reading. (B92)

meteor-based

I don't know, maybe there are meteor-based gems in other parts of the world, (B88)

metrosexual

But you won't catch me calling it a sour apple martini. Oh hell no. How metrosexual. (B4)

Whether it's examining the metrosexual movement or the latest television show, it tries to provide insight into some aspect of society, culture or life in the 21st century. (B21)

me-zine

Anyway, I don't want this space to be just another me-zine, all about me and what I ate for breakfast and what are my complaints (B89)

mezz

A group of four coverall-clad workmen were gathered near the elevators the other day, fiddling with a partially disassembled door (all the doors leading into the interior spaces of our building have magnetic locks), their tools spread out around them. I overheard one of them, reporting via his walkie-talkie, "We're on the lower mezz, (B99)

microcontent

This is especially true if the link or URL itself provides useful microcontent to give the reader context for the information. (B93)

microexpression

It turns out that, despite what Margaret Mead thought, people all over the world, whatever their culture, interpret facial expressions the same way; furthermore, with sufficient training we can learn to interpret not just the obvious smiles and grimaces but every fleeting "microexpression" that reveals what another person is trying to hide. (B97)

micro-local

Team up with Topix.net to offer micro-local news and blog content for AOL.com, the My services, and the Digital Cities brands (B6)

milestone-stopper

Mozilla has been the victim of an enormous amount of criticism because of its bugs, despite the fact that it's not even out of beta yet. Any of these bugs would be a milestone-stopper in Mozilla, and certainly a release stopper, but they managed to make it to a release version of IE5.5. (B15)

mindbogglingly

I might be among the best in terms of grade, but there are several people who have better speaking skills (many have Japanese spouses), and at least a couple who are just really, mindbogglingly good at languages. (B98)

mindframe(s)

the bad mindframe is still stuck on me. (B23)

mind-smashed

he sees, in a vision, in his head as a slo-mo replay or in a mind-smashed vision in front of him, his lost love walking away. (B77)

mini-aircraft

And since the company is based in an ultra-cautious nanny-state, the UK, there will probably be some sort of extensive licensing procedure to pilot these mini-aircraft. (B37)

mini-badges

You know those mini-badges displayed on some sites to indicate they have an RSS feed or whatever? (B34)

mini-breakbeats

And, of course, that return of those scratching guitars at 2m30s....the mini-breakbeats, and the rocky ride to the end. (B77)

mini-cakes

As I'm holding a plate of oh-so-yummy kosher for passover mini-cakes my grandfather looks over and says "Now Rachel, you're not going to eat any of that are you? You need to watch your figure!" (B57)

mini-celebrity

Mini-celebrity sightings: Benedict Goh (Better looking than when he was in showbiz) and Mark Zee (Cute! Alone, without Rachel Lee.) (B1)

mini-linkdump

here's a mini-linkdump too: (B44)

mini-poll

Thanks to everyone who participated in my mini-poll. (B17)

mini-preview

For me it felt like a mini-preview of her actually wearing the cute girly clothes hanging in her closet. (B20)

minivacation

Jill had visited one in Copenhagen and insisted it must be a part of the minivacation. (B56)

misquoter(s)

One of the things that is so extraordinary about the way that this line gets misquoted is quite what the misquoters think it means. (B67)

mistabulated

A story to watch, it demonstrates that thousands of votes were probably mistabulated throughout Cuyahoga County, and especially (curiously enough) in minority areas. (B75)

moblog(s) / mobblogging / moblogging

Why doesn't one of the larger networks and their local affiliates work with a large blogging service and their photo/moblogging capabilities to create local citizen/journal reporters who can moblog local campaign and election events and do man on the street interviews? (B6)

It seems as if most of these meals are usually heavily documented with countless photos taken on our phones and sent to our moblogs. (B40)

Anyone interested in researching the affordances of moblogging in search for a person to test the equipment? (B60)

mock-astonished

The editorial asked, in a mock-astonished tone, if we knew that The Tempest was really a work about colonialism. (B94)

modelizing

Ask veteran New York partyers and they will confirm that there was a time when Wednesday night dinners at Serafina and post-drinking at Pangea was a “to-do” for the modelizing click. (B78)

mojito

Vodka, likely. Or perhaps a tall, cold mojito. (B42)

Then Birke and I had some more, and she wasn't standing good by the time we went to the bars, where I tried a mojito. (B76)

molan

We were looking for some cool shirts when we saw this shirt made of 22% polyester and 78% molan... "What is molan" I asked a salesperson, who went off to check with a colleague. He came back with the answer: "It's how it is woven" ...! (B52)

moldavite

Oh, and by the way, eBay gem dealers: There is no such fucking thing as African moldavite! It's called "moldavite" because it's from a meteor that landed in the Moldau region of the Czech Republic (B88)

mondegreen

Obviously they didn't actually write what I thought I heard, but does that mean my mondegreen ought to be attributed to me? (B99)

Monicagate

I've never met the lady. She kicked this whole coup off by getting Linda Tripp to secretly tape her "friend" Monica Lewinsky, and then she oddly became the only central Monicagate figure not called by Ken Starr to testify in front of the grand jury. Why? (B35)

monkeycat

But then, who wouldn't like an amazing, whiskerless monkeycat? (B68)

monstered

All his work buddies'll be there too. Is going to be highly amusing being around them all when they get totally monstered. (B82)

morning-ish

Current Mood Swing: morning-ish (B79)

motto-able

It isn't quite a collection of patterns, more a collection of mindsets and philosophical goals, but with motto-able titles (such as "Low Surface to Volume Ratio", and "Gentle Learning Curve"). (B34)

mouse-finger

At the end of yesterday's exciting episode, User X was waiting, mouse-finger poised, to click on our "Sign In" link... let's see where the story continues! (B93)

movieblogging

Movieblogging (B50)

MP3(s)('s)

Warp records is selling it's entire catalog in MP3 format, for \$1.35 a song. (B5)

The simple fact is, all I want is a program that plays my mp3's, and manages my playlist. (B15)

Almost all of those searching for phrases like “linkin park meteora tracks” (the most popular), presumably looking for MP3s of the album! (B28)

m-phone(s)

Presumably this new generation of m-phones will also draw on predictive text input (B80)

msger

evil Spying on everyone in Yahoo Msgser. *waves to Gracey and Joey* Only you two seem alive. (B8)

multi-database

Babeling, a French terminology engineering software developer, has just released Motilus, an interface to multi-database term queries over the web. (B80)

multi-institution

Thanks to Gary Price for this report on a European Commission/NSF project on "Quality of Service and Legitimacy in eGovernment," a multi-institution initiative to improve the delivery of government services. (B80)

multilinguality

Blogos covers language through multilinguality and translation, localization and global markets, individual skills and emerging technologies, enablers and barriers, knowledge and speculation. (B80)

multimedial / multi-medial

The last months on the web have been quite multimedial. (B47)

In the Moblogging Jokkmokk blog I raised the question whether someone knew of a good (and preferably easy-to-use) device to use for multi-medial moblogging. (B60)

multimodality

Central theoretical concepts include multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001) and presence (Lombard & Ditton 1997; Short et al. 1976). (B60)

multivalency

I just realised I have to figure out what to wear for my trial lecture, too! Would it be inappropriate to wear the same outfit as I'll wear the next day? Should the trial lecture attire be a little less formal than the actual defence's costume? Would a skirt give the wrong impression? Boots or shoes? Perhaps my red, chinese top, á la Mary, with jeans and boots (and hair up or down? sleek or curly?) to invoke an image of multivalency and grassroots power? (B54)

mythologise

How has this happened? By the self-will of Wilson etc, to mythologise themselves? (B77)

n0rp

you can't look at n0rp? (B87)

nanoaudiences

The summary of the Perseus Blog Survey presents an interesting new word/phrase, I haven't come across before: nanoaudiences. The word is used to describe the fact (according to Perseus) that most blogs only have few and select readers, far less than a masscommunication medium. (B51)

nano-junk

The West will drown in junk, in plastic rubbish, in discontinues lines, in consumeables, in rusting white goods, in broken machines and the nano-junk of our daily existence. (B77)

napsterization

The Practitioners: Rebecca Blood (for being a pioneering practitioner), Margaret Cho (for taking media heat), Barb Dybwad (for Engadget & Dykes Do Digital), Mary Hodder (for napsterization), Dina Mehta (for bridging distance through common ground) (B55)

narratee

I was hit by communication model fatigue, you see, you know, the real author - implied author - narrator - narratee - implied reader - real reader stuff. (B54)

near-cure

(...) story which looks at a possible future near-cure for Alzheimer's Disease (B105)

near-me

Of course, you might not be as stupid as me. This is devoutly to be hoped. But if you even suspect yourself of having near-me levels of dumbitude, heed my warning. (B92)

near-parallel

Was utterly amazed by Andy's previous post as I was feeling **exactly** the same way about Biology the previous day, set my alarm for 8:30, got up at 10 (ha! the earliness!), and we got into school at precisely the same time. **grins** Near-parallel days or something. (B82)

near-sex

Man, I have **so** many stories for almost.org ("tales of near-sex experiences") it's sad (and pathetic). (B68)

neo-Luddite

Or, for your neo-Luddite relative who doesn't feel safe typing her card number in at Amazon, simply plug the damned card into the front of her Gateway. (B93)

net2phone

Back when we were all on dialup most of us remember (net2phone) and such software. (B74)

netart

my boyfriend came back from the war - a netart piece I've been referred to several times in the last month (B51)

neterati

The organiser, the shadowy Bill character, sent out 50 emails to various neterati, their friends, artists, writers, wonks, geeks, etc....and they gather to make a certain space in the city somehow take on another meaning, however brief. (B77)

nethead(s)

Article 312 of the penal code on every journalist's lips (that's the one that applies the consideration of 'social responsibility' to that of free speech on pain of gaol - a moot notion about to be imposed on Turkish netheads now); (B90)

net-ocracy

civilisation will grind to a halt one day because everyone is too busy communicating, watching, seeing, noting, blogging, replying to blogs, replying to the reply of blogs, emailing, surfing, to actually do anything. Or are these just the pursuits of the new net-ocracy, the Inner Party of the internet age...'freedom is slavery.' (B77)

netroots

If elected, I will not serve. You know what's amazing about open source politics, about the growing netroots revolution? (B75)

Net-tests

Net-tests are like buses, you wait months for one, then 2 come along at once. This is much more fun than studying. Thanks to Loulabelle. (B108)

newsblog

Update: Sergei points to the Guardian newsblog, and of course, there is also the BBC. (B49)

newswise

There have been several things, newswise that have caught my eye in the past couple days. (B4)

N-fuckin-Sync

N-fuckin-Sync are doing the BeeGees tribute medley. (B64)

nofollow

And you thought nofollow was the solution to all your linking woes! Not so! (B44)

non-anonymous

But please, learn more about trolls before you start laying invective on earnest, non-anonymous posters such as myself who simply happen to disagree with you. (B64)

non-blog

If you want older posts, or to search the essays and non-blog content, use Google. (B54)

non-bloggers

There's a whole world out there of non-bloggers that could well be our reader base, how do we find them? (B38)

non-bootleg-looking

It turns out you can actually download it from a non-Korean, non-bootleg-looking Web site—I was able to get it today (B88)

non-broke

Secure, for the moment? A hundred bucks in the bank makes me feel rich, unless I know I have some expense that will take it, like we haven't bought groceries this week. Secure, in a real non-broke middle-class sense? (B49)

non-chain

back to this place, that seems like the last non-chain restaurant in Leeuwarden. (B52)

non-chambers

so yeah the concert was good except for that whole non-chambers deal. ouch, maybe I am too critical of us, but it could have been better. (B57)

non-charging

Speeding drivers will be frowned at - by new style, non-charging speed cameras ...link (B37)

non-code

"You used my non-code name!" (B5)

non-confusing

But that's the short and hopefully non-confusing summary. I research and fix all day. (B71)

non-country

Usually CMT's Crossroads program features great pairings of country and non-country artists. (B27)

non-Danish

I find blogs in foreign languages (for me that is non-English, non-Danish and some more) fascinating. (B52)

Non-Designers

I got most of my books today, including a sweet little number, by far the cheapest, The Non-Designers Design Book, (B79)

non-diagnosis

Since my non-diagnosis at Tuesday's ultrasound appointment I've been more distracted than most distracted pregnant women. (B8)

non-direct

A number of directions are possible: Develop a vision capture system which is capable of reasonably extracting text from captures of pub-quiz type machines from a web-cam class camera (i.e. 640x480 or 1024x768) in REAL TIME under the difficult circumstances one expects to see in a public house (i.e. low light, smoke occlusion, non-direct screen angle, varying color schemes, different fonts etc, beam interference from the monitor/TV screen). (B76)

non-distracting

Breadcrumb links certainly don't **hurt** the user experience - they're small and non-distracting - but they also tend not to be the primary elements that customers use to fulfill their goals (B65)

non-drowsy

"Quite some time," she rejoindered, clearly having no idea. "But it's non-drowsy. Take one a day." (B101)

non-filtered

I get a second copy of that and start working on the peer review - and start to think: hmmm, should I have had a response from somebody else? and ask for it - and there it arrives, in the non-filtered mailbox. (B48)

non-Gallic

There's a part of me that enjoys seeing the French word "cuisine" attached to the culinary traditions of one non-Gallic ethnic group or another, but I also find some satisfaction in the simple, direct acceptance of food as food, that tradition that makes pizza so nearly universally accepted, or pasta so nearly ubiquitous. (B91)

non-geniuses

In others, you had to identify the "odd one out". (To the non-geniuses out there, "One of these is not liiike the other. One of these does not belong.") (B85)

non-guy

So, um, what does adhering to web standards do for non-guy web developers? (B55)

non-heterosexuals

I thought I knew all the more obvious non-heterosexuals in show biz, but apparently I'm not as up on them as I thought. (B88)

non-informational

the design and experience of non-informational spaces (digital art, codework, literature, games etc.) (B48)

non-interaction

Discussion of the need for a theory of non-interaction in the digital media - now it's only seen as the boring stuff between the interactive part = not worth dealing with. (B52)

non-Irish

using a common diminutive among the Irish for "Patrick" (although I note that this form was also used in a derogatory manner by non-Irish during much of the period of high Irish emigration, (B91)

non-Korean

It turns out you can actually download it from a non-Korean, non-bootleg-looking Web site—I was able to get it today (B88)

non-ludicrous

Fortunately, the judge came down on the non-ludicrous side of the case of Ticketmaster suing Tickets.com for sending them business. (B68)

non-mayer

come back to bed - this is probably one of my least favorite of the album but that still puts it high above non-mayer music. (B69)

nonmediation

"Presence is the perceptual illusion of nonmediation" (from Lombard and Ditton). (B60)

non-pc

whilst doing a little research I found this, Fat Chicks in Party Hats, it's fattist, anti-midget, anti-disabled, funny, and the most non-pc site I've stumbled over in a while. (B98)

non-pedestrian

I guess this, together with non-pedestrian scales makes driving such big part of the culture. (B41)

non-prepare-able

Add to that the preparation for the multitude of non-prepare-able issues that will certainly arise while flying with Mia. (B24)

non-processed

J. and I have both lost quite a bit of weight in the past few months—he through exercise and a diet of non-processed foods (which leaves out just about everything with fat and salt), and I mainly through being uninterested in eating. (B88)

nonscholarly

Not too many details since it's still background processing in my nonscholarly brain. (B76)

non-skeptics

This is, I think, an issue of interest to skeptics and non-skeptics, theists and atheists, and anybody else who gets entangled in a debate that seems to go nowhere. (B85)

non-smug

the religionists who describe themselves with factual, completely non-smug adjectives such as "Chosen," "Washed," or "Saved" (B64)

non-squeamish

The non-squeamish might also be intrigued by the forked uvula belonging to Simon aka minor 9th (B59)

non-straight

Whether you choose to be straight or non-straight, you have to understand all the implications and responsibilities of that choice. (B111)

non-sucking

Non-Sucking Country Music (B27)

non-tech

And another non-tech blog by a woman that I voted for was Clotilde's marvelous "Zucchini & Chocolate, which is mouth-wateringly written. (B55)

Non-Unicode

there's some problem in Non-Unicode letters like that (B87)

non-update

This is the non-update problem. It works sometimes and not others... I'm working on it. (B57)

non-workingness

i think we're all getting discouraged by blogger's non-workingness (B57)

noonish

We planned to go out for coffee at noonish, (B84)

no-op

I ran across this code while working in the file, and it took some digging to figure out why this no-op initialization logic was there. (B34)

noughties

Such then was the political culture within which the continuing crisis of the noughties began to unfold. (B90)

NSFW

Squirrel Goes Weee (probably NSFW) (B83)

nutjob / nutjobs

Of course it was necessary, Rick. Do you want some brain damaged psycho-sexual nutjob running around biting people? (B109)

Or if you're some of the nutjobs in the Northeast, you get a family counselor to work out your animal's jealousy issues and get kitty Prozac. I only wish I was kidding... read about it here. (B29)

object-centered

I'm thinking of triangulation, object-centered sociality and even one of my favourite quotes from Antoine de Saint-Exupery that loving is not just looking at each other, it's looking in the same direction. (B41)

objectificate

Even I'm confused, and I know what I mean! I suppose I'd be safer inventing the verb "objectificate". (B85)

off-message

I watched Al Sharpton's speech and was pleasantly surprised that he seemed to be fitting in, despite his typical Reverendly yelling. And then MSNBC cut to the commentators whining about him being off-script/off-message. (B24)

off- script

I watched Al Sharpton's speech and was pleasantly surprised that he seemed to be fitting in, despite his typical Reverendly yelling. And then MSNBC cut to the commentators whining about him being off-script/off-message. (B24)

off-topic

Off-topic, but I can't resist: (B97)

omgbeautiful

The ending of RotK walked a fine line between cheesy and omgbeautiful (B82)

onramp(s)

As we marched along under the highway onramps and offramps looking for people who lived under them, (B21)

open-mic

Tomorrow night yours sincerely will be at an open-mic poetry slam with the society, a first for us this year. (B78)

open-source

While the list of sites using Passport right now is very short and limited to MSN sites, I'm expecting we'll see more of this technology (and, presumably, the inevitable open-source alternative) all over the web soon. (B93)

originalist

The battle for control of the courts between Democrats who think they have a right to a pro-Roe judge, and Republicans who are salivating to get an originalist on the court, will now commence. (B62)

otherings

In a few hours I'll be boarding a plane to Hong Kong and from there (after a 5 hour stop over -_-) a plane to Manila. I've done my packing, washing, cleaning, shopping, otherings... (B8)

outblog / outblogged

In her spare time Jill likes to outblog dave, do art, juggle two jobs, write poetry, (B70)
Outblogged by Beer (B51)

over-linking

I'm invoking the "extreme cases" clause mentioned in my conversational incest theory of over-linking post, but damn this is good stuff: (B38)

over-promoting

I think they also tend to do a disservice to the public by minimizing the negative side effects of the medication while over-promoting their effectiveness (especially compared to older medications). (B31)

over-pronouncing

How come Laurence Fishburn can get away with over-pronouncing his syllables and I can't? (B57)

overusage

We don't ever go into overusage or anything like that. (B9)

overvote

You know, just a few really complicated things like "don't turn off the 'reject overvote ballots' feature" (B21)

pan-spatial

It's only the time period between Thanksgiving and Christmas that the pan-spatial rift opens between our normal spacetime and the mysterious, inaccessible otherworld known as "Vermont." (B92)

paratext

I was looking for a neutral description of a Norwegian PhD defence ritual to link from my nice new version of the "about me" paratext of this blog. (B54)

PayPal

If you can stand to open a PayPal account No account necessary (B22)

But if you're willing to drop a couple of bucks into paypal so that I don't have to put Lauren's redesign costs on my already burdened credit card, I would be most grateful. (B49)

PCdom

In Panther, in Jaguar, in Classic (or for those who continue to languish in PCdom, let me translate: in Mac OS 10.3, Mac OS 10.2, and Mac OS 9). I feel so much better. (B50)

PDPAL

Walker Art Center (another version of PDPAL) (B87)

penalty-taker(s)

And before I know what's really happening, we've only gone and won the damn thing. The penalty-takers are heroes, Dudek is a hero, Benitez is a hero, (B108)

perfumey

Of course, an allergy to smelly stuff puts paid to a whole segment of the Mother's Day industry and an innate laziness means there is nothing I would like less (except for perfumey stuff) than nick nacks to dust. (B95)

perinatologist

I'm so glad I switched to a high risk perinatologist. (B20)

permafrosted

those corpse-vocals are the spectral, zomboid voices of the dead ancestors rising, in evil, from their permafrosted tombs. (B77)

permalink(s)

Permalinks have been enabled on this blog. You know what to do. (B59)

pern(-type)

Only some of the role play had backfired into reality. I no longer remember every detail, lucid and logical though they were, but it involved firelizards (miniature dragons), (B48)

pescetarian

They have not always been "fusion," and they haven't always involved fish (although now that I am pursuing a lifestyle choice as a "pescetarian" that's changed). (B91)

phB 33r

phB 33r 1t plz (B87)

phatty

Good Sales people get phatty paid. (B74)

photoblog

Pictures to follow in the photoblog. (B51)

I'll be able to have comments, post a photoblog and do some other fun stuff. (B81)

photolog / photologger

Hat tip to Heidi for this great daily photolog from our Neighbors To The North. (B27)

Another excellent photologger, this one in New York. Lots of stuff with weird signs, urban decay, etc. (B27)

photonically

At least get a screen saver! Is that privileged information you've got blasting out photonically into the night? (B92)

Photoshop / photoshopped / photoshopping

New header! I was experimenting with Photoshop and was bored with my old one. (B1)

Some of the pics need to be photoshopped to make em better, I'll get around to that shortly. (B9)

I, uh, ended up photoshopping away at that mockup last night instead of grading papers or finishing the essay that's due today. (B54)

phpbb

I also spent the most of last night tinkering with the Lockload Forums and have installed new phpbb hacks: (B8)

phwoaaar

And secondly - all except one actor was unknown to me, especially the quite stunning Kevin McKidd. Gay male readers (and there are a couple) will just go phwoaaar! (B 101)

pissed-ness

So of course my terror turned into a relieved state of high pissed-ness. (B4)

Playstation

Three cheers for Mary & Eugene and their brand new Playstation 2. (B5)

pluggage

Here's some pluggage for the good people there. Find yourself! (B8)

plugin / plugins

Now my photo album is normal HTML, exported from iPhoto via the BetterHTMLExport plugin. (B27)

Just upgraded to a new version of WordPress, mostly to try some new anti-spam plugins. (B99)

pmsing

and yes. i am pmsing. and my tummy hurts.) (B23)

podcast / podcasts / podcasting

It's a sign of the times that when you start listening to this week's engadget podcast the guys introduce themselves as follows: (B38)

I appreciate the idea and the technology, but the more I hear about them, the more I realize that listening to podcasts is not for me. (B47)

Podcasting for my talk on blogging and research tomorrow? (B41)

podcaster(s)

If, like me, you use Audible for your audio books (bet the podcasters have given them a scare) and like me, you absolutely hate that Audible force you to browse in one tab/window, this script is for you. Now you (B38)

Popism

Re: the debate over Popism, I'm not sure I have much to contribute [apart from a howl of despair], (B77)

PopSci

O'Reilly's Make: A new project-focused magazine rolls out with great talent at the helm. Will this be Readymade for geeks or the next PopSci? (B6)

popup

I'm trying to figure out how to make the image popup window resize to the image size. It's a bit annoying. (B9)

pork-laden

The moderate middle, almost by definition, produces little in the way of big ideas, and its little ideas generally end up as muddy messes--if you start compromised, what you generally end up with is pork-laden monstrosities. (B62)

porno-ish

I'm thinking it should be something humorous but I don't want it to be blatantly sexual or porno-ish as the story has Kyle running an exclusive, high class male escort service for the very rich and famous (B16)

pornolize

Go on you dirty people, pornolize good BBB! (B76)

post-civilisation

he even produced paintings of the Olympic Stadium, the Chancellory, covered in ivy, with post-civilisation savages scraping a mean life amid these vast, dwarfing ruins of a thousand years of institutionalised genocidal racism. (B77)

post-consumer

Hoberman's topic is to be "Recycling Post-Consumer Media Content" which I expect to follow on some of his previous projects: (B87)

post-drinking

Ask veteran New York partyers and they will confirm that there was a time when Wednesday night dinners at Serafina and post-drinking at Pangea was a "to-do" for the modelizing click. (B78)

post-everything

Perhaps, for example, the postmodern post-structuralist post-everything turn is not the bold and original programme (B89)

post-F-911

Here's a nice set of debating points, perhaps useful for your post-F-911 conversations with the "is Bush really that bad?" crowd (B7)

post-'globalisation'

All just what a post-'globalisation' state would want, and all at the expense of a few thousand nobodies who can't even get near a phone, never mind a polling booth! (B90)

post-keyboarding

This new post-keyboarding regime should also give a boost to innovative language processing solutions, perhaps leveraging capabilities in closely tracking the statistics of personal language usage. (B80)

post-movie

the continuing post-movie re-enactments of Daphne's 'oh yeah' dance (B59)

post-rockism

I still see Tom and Loss Leader as two of my key songs of post-rockism: frozen, spindly, and yes, mathematical sonic equations. (B77)

post-Saddam

But we're nearly thirteen months into the post-Saddam period of Iraq's history. (B22)

power-walking

When it comes to distances outdoors, I love meters and kilometers. I have a physical feel for what a kilometer is. I know that when I'm out power-walking, I cover 5.5 of them every hour. (B85)

pr0n

you really want your pr0n eh? (B87)

pre-Bevis

I also met Spike, of Spike and Mike's Sick and Twisted Festival of Animation, (the first guys to recognize Mike Judge's brilliance in the pre-Bevis days), and did a little soundbyte for their 25th anniversary special, so Spike gave me an autographed DVD of their greatest sick and twisted hits. Cool! (B25)

pre-briefing(s)

I routinely get solicitations from PR firms asking me to look at a pre-announcement or listen to a pre-briefing. (B44)

What I'm hoping for is the day that we can be bit less uptight about who knows when, who gets the early call, pre-briefings, and all that stuff. (B44)

pre-cell phone

Trains being what they are – unattached to anything but the rails – and this being pre-cell phone days, messages were passed by hand by means of a forked stick with a wire strung across the mouth of the Y and the paper slip wound around the wire. (B91)

pre-fabulous / pre-fabulousness

It's all so pre-fabulous... and it hardly costs a thing... (B58)

We are just as caught up in our pre-fabulousness as everybody else. (B58)

pre-fireworks

In between the live acts they broadcast performers from other venues including Green Day from Berlin and Pink Floyd from London, as well as Elton John who will be appearing for the big free 4th of July pre-fireworks concert in Philly on Monday, along with Patti Labelle, Bryan Adams, Rufus Wainwright, and Peter Nero and the Philly Pops. (B73)

pre-fitness

I was feeling mighty proud about getting into the New York City marathon, in a kind of anticipatory pre-fitness mood, until Anil pointed me to today's New Yorker article about Lance Armstrong. (B2)

pre-internet

In the pre-internet days, TMBG used to offer a dial-a-song service. (B59)

pre-resolution

Well, my latest theory is that a decision may be meaningless without a plan, but a plan is just as meaningless without a schedule—and without the resolve to stick to that schedule.

Let's look at a typical day of translating, pre-resolution. (B36)

pre-setup

He was able to make a later flight, but that means I had to change my plans to be more like... go get car, drive 20 miles to the hotel, then over to the office to pre-setup the class by myself, then back 20 miles to the airport to pick him up before 20 miles back to the airport. (B58)

pre-sex

The scheme, which has been pioneered by Exeter University and is backed by the Departments of Health and Education, trains teachers to discuss various pre-sex “stopping points” with under-age teenagers. (B64)

prestidigitatorial

These days, mobile manufacturers such as Nokia and Philips are announcing phones that are timidly moving towards scribble interfaces for texting that garbage-can the prestidigitatorial demands of these ‘older’ keyboards. (B80)

pre-thought

Everything I had been experiencing, from the hotel, to the homes with the tennis courts or the malls; even to my own class... have been so planned out, scheduled, pre-thought and re-thought. Nothing had a sense of belonging where it was. (B58)

pro-Bush

Many pro-Bush critics had been saying that most of the clips inside the movie were taken out of context, but that should not underlying the truths about it all. (B14)

pro-Clinton

I just heard from the Fox News Channel today that Lucianne Goldberg has told them that she does not mind appearing with any pro-Clinton person on their talk shows (B35)

pro-corporate

That Democrat you’re voting for is more than likely just a mushier version of the Republican — pro-corporate, pro-death penalty, anti-affirmative action. (B35)

prolly

It was a long day and prolly the hardest test I've ever done, involving numerical, linguistic, persuasion and analytic (essay) shit. (B76)

proto-blogger

Henry Clarke Wright, proto-blogger? (B62)

pseudo-identity

you've got to come up with a pseudo-identity for instances like this so you're not caught off guard. (B78)

pseudo-integration

Trains run by three fat controllers - we're getting pseudo-integration on Britain's railways (B37)

pseudo-investigation

This pseudo-investigation has the potential to cause intimidation of many professors (B49)

pseudo-realistic

I could reiterate why I hate faux-brushed metal pseudo-realistic "devices" as interfaces, but the good folks over at Isys Information Architects have already covered the subject quite eloquently. (B93)

psycho-perceptual

Why do I always look thinner in person? Only one possible explanation: In your head, I'm fat. Some psycho-perceptual version of the camera adding ten pounds. (B78)

ptooey

During the 2000 election, 27,000 ballots went ptooeey from faulty machines, just in Rep. Brown's district alone. (B7)

puhleeze

Jones is also fisked by Jarvis and Ernie Miller, but the bottom line, is STFU, puhleeze. (B6)

pullquote

That is what I took away from the story, and I think it was there in the original article (see the pullquote in the October post). (B55)

pyschedelia

This is some terrific pyschedelia, and it was immediately apparent in the recordings where the Doors got a fair bit of their aural schtick. (B91)

quasi-sacred

By "traditionalism," I understand a non-critical and even reverential celebration of texts/thinkers/canons that are supposed to be above and beyond the reach of criticism precisely because they have stood the test of time and are now to be elevated (or relegated) to a quasi-sacred space as a collection of quasi-sacred objects. (B89)

quasi-zombie

Actually, it's kind-of an uplifting love story disguised as a quasi-zombie action flick (much like Secretary was a love story disguised as a S&M office drama). (B24)

rant-site

How's your life these days? I like that you started up your own rant-site (B109)

ratings-grabbing

According to Rushkoff, O'Reilly's appeal to anger, emotion and opinion are not merely ratings-grabbing devices; they are part of a larger program of ideological coercion. (B12)

rattiness

Everyone should get a new wallet every couple of years. My daughter noticed the increasing rattiness of my old one and thought she'd better get me a new one before I lost the family fortune. (B95)

R/C

Oh hell yeah. We NEED that! R/C car with spycam? (B4)

reality-challenging

Finally, today, I've had two reality-challenging moments (B24)

rearranger(s)

By that point, sirens were going off and an army of those rearrangers had appeared, grabbing me by the arms and spraying something into my face that both calmed and alerted me, making me move quickly away from the carnage I had inadvertantly created as my eyes scanned the wreckage for sign of my beautiful tangerine luggage dream. (B111)

re-branding

See, TNN is re-branding themselves. Re-branding is when a network changes it's image and programming, and goes after a new audience. (B25)

recoupled

Railways recoupled - The Times applauds the proposal for Network Rails to take over stations (B37)

re-explain

Now that we are home, have drunk our hot chocolate, and attempted to explain to them about a dog's body language (probably will need to re-explain that one often), everything is good. (B3)

refactoring / refactor(s)

If later, you need to make it more complicated, you'll waste less time refactoring that one bit of code than you would have over-complicating all the other bits that you could have left simple. (B15)

They'll grow boundlessly, until someone gets tired of it all and either splits off a new topic, or refactors everything down to a more convenient length. (B15)

regular-ish

As regular-ish readers will know, condensing the report into a small paper has been the main thrust for the last few weeks. (B45)

re-posting

I wish there were some sort of super-smart artificial intelligence filter on Kos, which wouldn't allow the re-posting of ancient, endlessly hashed-over talking points. (B75)

Republocrats

Will we have the smarts to take advantage of the suicide the Republocrats are committing? (B35)

research-wise

With blogging, research-wise no stone is left unturned ;). (B51)

respector

Just proving yet again that idiocy is no respector of race, creed, religion, political affiliation, etcetera, etcetera... (B29)

retro-y

Those who made it through my lengthy comics post below may be interested in this newspaper article on the multi-talented Chris Ware, whose retro-y, design-forward comics are some of the best being done now. (B94)

RFC

On the other hand, it's cool that now the .jar file is finally larger than the RFC I'm trying to implement. :) (B15)

RFID

Before restarting I was writing a post about buying stuff, smartphones reading barcodes with the built in cameras, RFID and GPS antennas, Google and Yahoo, weblogs, RSS and tagging... (B47)

ride-giver

it seems like im the ride-giver even with people ive just met! (B57)

ride-pleading

No, of course I'm being a doink; it's very handy to have, and has spared our friends many ride-pleading phone calls. (B92)

riffage

A full review is beyond my current devastated energy levels but highlightsIsis were astonishing: they began with a cataclysmic flow of riffage, (B77)

R'n'B

Can music ever be truly beneficial to the wider society? Or is the future of music just the atomisation of anything that isn't solid POP and the hegemony of hip-pop and sexless R'n'B. (B77)

ROFL

He said he would have LOVED to have had a cameo in Galaxy Quest as a crazed fan being right in the face of the kid telling him how much he hated him on the show! ROFL! Man we laughed for several minutes. (B25)

ROFLMAO

"AND I SAVED THE DAY," announces Wil with his arms up in a victory post. ROFLMAO. That was the end of his talk and we all jumped up to give him a standing O. (B25)

roomlet

I will almost certainly be mowed down one day by a blank-eyed commuter, and enter the roomlet with one chain-link fence wall that overlooks a grimy, howling freeway all so I can just smoke a fucking cigarette. (B92)

roxxored

that irish brotherhood movie roxxored. (B74)

RSN

Did anyone see us on the webcam? Some of my friends got pretty crazy with it...I'm glad I don't archive any images! I did take some pictures with my brother's digital camera, and I'll be uploading them RSN. (B25)

RSS

I tried to help him set up RSS for his blog. (B83)

RSS-based

After having used the Linked In site quite heavily for a few days we can say that there are several features we would like to see developed on Linked In (starting with a bunch of RSS-based ones). (B47)

RSS-ifying

RSS-ifying sites (B47)

rubbishness

I think my body must just naturally be able to recognise the distance, which is amazing cos the District Line is normally so rubbish and usually stops between stops. But perhaps my body even compensates for the rubbishness somehow. (B100)

RULEZ

JULAIN RULEZ (B87)

sado-pornography

The first view is given by Ned Temko, editor of the Jewish Chronicle, and it features the now standard (but I think misguided) claim about the violence in the film, "an orgy of violence", "sado-pornography" and so on. (B67)

sameoldsameold

Also another sameoldsameold article from the arriere-garde New York Times about how there are not a lot of women in the games industry, games are too violent, women like the Sims because it is social, yadda yadda. (B55)

sarcasmic

sarcasmic: sar-CAZ-mick adj. A sarcastic orgasm. Sally was really being sarcastic in When Harry Met Sally. (B57)

scapecats

scapecats Article about the investigation into the decline of sparrows and starlings in today's Independent. (...) Scientists blame cats for decline of sparrows while the headline here (on page 13 of the print version) says that Cats, cars, and cleaner streets lead to the fall of a once-common bird. (B59)

SchadenKrap

I said a bit ago, with basically no substantiation, that we all love crap. I just kind of assumed that you agreed with me. I imagined that everyone thought, "Yeah, I know what you mean," and then thought of personal examples of SchadenKrap. (B92)

schwag

Well, tomorrow is my step-son's birthday, so I'm off to get him some birthday schwag. (B25)

scrapbooking

Oh, I did get a page of scrapbooking done until I ran out of tape.

I've been organizing my photos from the last three years for my new obsession: scrapbooking (think paper blogging with photos, and yeah, I'm hooked). (B20)

screencast

The more I think about it, I realize that this is the perfect case of a product that could benefit from a screencast. I'll mention that to Steve. (B44)

screenies

Here are a couple of screenies. (B9)

Scroogelike

Banning kids from campus except for emergencies and special events strikes me as Scroogelike and draconian, and if I were on the faculty at the University of Memphis I would be mighty displeased. (B49)

scrute

That's not all. I can't manage, each day, to come up with some news tidbit to flap the unflappable, or a discovery to flabbergast the unflabbergastable, or a lurid tale to scrute the inscrutable. (B85)

self-acclaimed

I just did a search and it turns out his name is "Rocky Rainbow" and he's the self-acclaimed official Leprechaun of Colorado. (B29)

self-amusing

Not that I particularly miss it with any sort of regularity... but it is fun to be irresponsible and self-amusing every now and again. (B29)

self-correct

He was pretty upbeat about the experience and you can see why here - just wait for the text to unfurl and self-correct or propose word solutions. (B80)

self-damage

Speak to any of us later that evening when the shock of it all has been numbed by a cooling ale- or 20- ha ha- and we'll tell our own tales of near or actual self-damage: the lacerations, the bones poking through, the partial de-glovings. (B53)

self-dispatch

The Gonzo Genius is Gone! hunter s. thompson kills himself. A fitting method of self-dispatch. R.I.P. big man. (B112)

self-express

It's good news to potential bloggers who want to self-express in these languages, but not good enough for those speaking hundreds of other languages who want a simple online environment to write to and share comments from their communities or the world at large. (B80)

self-segregating

The students react by self-segregating in the halls, the cafeterias, the classrooms. (B3)

self-weblog

Also, one of the primary inspirations for this site is PeterMe, which may also constitute a virtual self-weblog for me, (B93)

semi-amusing

At least there's a semi-amusing trail of comments on his post now. (B44)

semi-completely

Damnit! I completely missed (or semi-completely missed) Wet Monday! (B57)

semi-early

We slept at the Marriott that night then hit Disneyland semi-early the next day. (B20)

semi-man

When there was trouble in the world, Vishnu would allow a portion of himself to be incarnated as a mortal: a fish, a boar, a dwarf, a semi-human semi-man, heroes like Rama, wise men like Krishna and Buddha. (B54)

semi-nerve-wracking

And so it was that I found myself ascending the stairs to Fatty's Custom Tattooz yesterday, heart beating ever so slightly faster with the semi-nerve-wracking knowledge that I was about to have a very sharp object driven through the middle of my tongue. (B42)

semi-philosophical

There was a semi-philosophical discussion at work this week about really motivates us (B44)

semi-rhetorical

A semi-rhetorical question today: When is the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (the Oscar people) going to have to distinguish what constitutes a "new" film? (B93)

semi-unique

I'd rather spend my time listening to the Decemberists back in my room, and arrived just in time to see Earlimart rock the house with their own semi-unique brand of California indie rock, (B106)

senator-elect

The senator-elect will be pleased to learn that moms' cookie-baking is the latest casualty of the campaign to protect children from fun. (B110)

serious-ass

Right off the bat, you've got the Meryl Streep factor. Meryl Streep makes serious-ass movies. (B92)

service-wise

the prices are usually pretty decent, and this incident is the sole black mark with me service-wise. (B4)

sexery

Subject:The Sexery. (B23)

shabang

It was not just a great moment in history I found myself in, but a great place about two feet wide, dead center physically between the two idiot ideologies, me and my buddy Rod, just laughing our asses off at the whole damn shabang. (B35)

shedloads

The Exploited have sold shedloads of records over the years, (B96)

shitstorm

What's going on right now is obviously nothing but an attempt by the Bush White House to set up someone else to take the blame for the ongoing shitstorm. (B7)

shizz

I'm not saying I'm the only one who has problems because i know everybody has their personal shizz... (B13)

Singlish

GistXL for example is focused on the specifics of Singlish (Singapore English), as filtered through the space and typing constraints of SMS. (B80)

sippy (cup)

There's a basket in back that's big enough for a couple bags of groceries, and a pocket on the back of the canopy that's big enough for a small purse or sippy cup + snacks + toy. (B49)

sissy-fied

The thing is, he's a bit sissy-fied (meaning feminine for the uninitiated) in his mannerisms. (B1)

sitemap

Flickr required registering for a web site. And, it required finding the "FlickrLive" link on a sitemap page. (B87)

skeen(s)

Last weekend I dove right into the world of crochet, and have to say I love it! I bought 3 skeens of beautiful soft yarn and a "Teach Yourself You Dummy!" book. (B71)

skeeze

Update: Fresno-area bloggers say Kev's a skeeze and he dropped out of high school (B6)

skype / skyping

skype me here, or Email Me there (B3)

Talking to Andy over skype... wish it had a webcam function, the quality is just like a phone call so it works. And it's free! (B8)

You know that it's summer then it feels so nice skyping home in a hammock swinging and while birds are singing... And then your laptop battery can not stand it any longer, but instead of going inside you find an extension cord because leaving the hammock would be so wrong... (B41)

sleazemeister

Ali Campbell is said to be the 2nd most powerful man in the UK and is generally thought of a sleazemeister but I was actually quite touched by reading the feature in yesterday's Observer. (B100)

Sleepaholic

On a good note, I made a few bucks from the Euro 2004 finals, thanks to Sleepaholic who placed the bets for me. (B1)

smackdown

According to the unusual Vermont constitution, if no candidate gets at least half the vote for governor, there will be a smackdown in the legislature, which is dominated by Republicans. (B2)

smartphone(s)

Before restarting I was writing a post about buying stuff, smartphones reading barcodes with the built in cameras, RFID and GPS antennas, Google and Yahoo, weblogs, RSS and tagging... (B47)

smart-touchpad

As B was trying out some smart-touchpad software, she told me about how B can't spend a whole day at school because his disease fatigues his physical and mental abilities. (B21)

SMS / SMSing

GistXL for example is focused on the specifics of Singlish (Singapore English), as filtered through the space and typing constraints of SMS. (B80)

Using a different approach, the Philips 755 (see here for a negative review) features a touch screen and a new Tag It stylus that enables SMSing using an on-screen keyboard (OSK), rather than poking away at the hardware shell. (B80)

smug-ass

Computer guys are very handy to have friendships with, and are generally decent people. But this smug-ass attitude of retail clerks makes me foam at the mouth. (B4)

snarking

Honey, any weblog that calls itself "reality based" (as TPM has), or claims that Republicans have some unique access to the truth, or otherwise displays their parochial political vanities and grotesquely bloated sense of self-regard, deserves any and all snarking they get. (B62)

snotnose

A call from another collection agency came in around 3:30. The snotnose on the other end of the line rudely informed me that I was 6 months in arrears with a certain loan. (B4)

soop(ed) up

I watched the programme the week before and they had an amazing sooped up off roader/sports car that does 0 - 60 in 4.7 seconds called a Bowler. (B33)

sorry-ass

Contact the sorry-ass Democratic candidate's headquarters in your district (click here to find out who's running in your area) and tell them you want to work the phone bank (B35)

spamfilter(s)

I don't know what is worse: spam that drowns your important email or spamfilters that just remove them. (B48)

spork

Yet another reason to defeat Bush: he's stacking the federal courts (and thus the interpretation of the Constitution for much of the next generation) with twisted creepazoids you wouldn't turn your back on with a plastic spork. (B7)

spycam

Oh hell yeah. We NEED that! R/C car with spycam? (B4)

spyware

Got all that nasty spyware, worms, and shit out of it. (B4)

No virii, no spyware, no malware, no suspicious programs, nothing. (B29)

squealy

Being honest, most jewellery looks similar to me - but she picked it out, and gets all y and squealy and swoony when looking at it - which she never does - so I'm guessing I did a good thing. (B108)

stalkerish

For the past few days I've been thinking about sending an email to possible contacts. Perhaps it was the that they might think me stalkerish or the fear of finding out they've all truly forgotten me, which kept me from pressing the "send" button... (B8)

Starlicious

Anyway, they had a new one last night - some of which I missed unfortunately - called 101 Most Starlicious Makeovers. (B16)

steel-like

The main inspiration I got from these stories, then, was a resolute, steel-like, resolve: I WILL NOT SUFFER. I WILL NOT FEEL PAIN. (B106)

stenocaptioning

For those folks who were chatting somewhat aimlessly, I asked them to practice stenocaptioning, to learn listening through their fingers. (B87)

STFU

Jones is also fished by Jarvis and Ernie Miller, but the bottom line, is STFU, puhleeze. (B6)

stoopless

Stupid stoopless house. (B5)

strummy

"[Room for Squares] was so buoyant and bouncy and I kind of feel like maybe I was on the tail end of that like acoustic and strummy, 'bop bop bop bah bop bop' kind of thing ... that kind of shiny pop fusing with jazz a little bit," Mayer said. (B69)

studmuffin(s)

JUDICIAL STUDMUFFINS: Underneath their Robes - think Wonkette, for the judicial set - has released the results of its 'superhotties of the federal bench' contest, conducted by polls of its readers (B63)

suave-o-meter

Surprisingly, I got a 65 out of 100 on the suave-o-meter: "It appears that you are quite the charmer, and when your sensitive side kicks in, you can be irresistible. (B68)

subpage

The wiki includes a subpage on the Danish blogosphere, where so far Stephen Bøgh-Andersen has contributed. (B51)

subscription-free

The library threw him out after the press got the story (here the NY Times story, subscription-free in a syndicated newspaper) but NYU have put him up in dorms for free for the rest of the semester (B54)

subsubsubgenre

and the subsubsubgenre of scientifiction (B105)

sudoku(s)

Did the Indie's sudokus on the train, including the Super Sudoku which I've sense posted off. (B107)

super-caffeinated

It's a match made in obsessive-compulsive, super-caffeinated heaven. Whee! (B42)

super-champ

A LATTER DAY VAN DOREN: The WaPo profiles Jeopardy! super-champ and millionaire Ken Jennings. (B63)

super-coalition

Together, with the help of our super-coalition, we'll establish a driving front along the Rio Grand and conquer Texas. (B78)

super-fun

Boeing would have made a bunch of super-fast, super-fun, super-small jets that appealed to the engineers designing the planes . . . and filed for bankruptcy a few years later. (B62)

superhottie(s)

JUDICIAL STUDMUFFINS: Underneath their Robes - think Wonkette, for the judicial set - has released the results of its 'superhotties of the federal bench' contest, conducted by polls of its readers (B63)

super-packed

The place, especially up toward the stage, was super-packed and very hot (B73)

super-sized

Our Walmart looks like their Walmart, our super-sized malls have the same Starbucks and J.C. Penney (B58)

super-small

Boeing would have made a bunch of super-fast, super-fun, super-small jets that appealed to the engineers designing the planes . . . and filed for bankruptcy a few years later. (B62)

surfdom

The Road to Surfdom (B90)

sux0rs

i still have no idea what i'm doing for the summer. none. someone decide for me. and remind me that staying in beloit for a dumBoy is a dumb idea. b/c beloit is teh sux0rs. (B57)

swankoid

Got a new mobile phone at the weekend, one of those amusing new swankoid ones with a camera built in... (B77)

Swartwouted

Another Leg Treasurer, Owen Hamlin, entrusted by Mr. Dixon, Rail Road Commissioner, with a check for \$11,600 on the State bank of Illinois, collected the money and Swartwouted. (B97)

swearly

St Marys in Mirfield have accidently acquired a swearly parrot (B96)

They were merry but good natured, but I was rather unimpressed when the man sitting in front of me started singing swearly football songs in front of his young son, and even more so when his son joined in. (B107)

swoony

Being honest, most jewellery looks similar to me - but she picked it out, and gets all y and squealy and swoony when looking at it - which she never does - so I'm guessing I did a good thing. (B108)

synop(s)

And I really do need to finish today because I want said Trusted Writing Friends to give the synop a read before I email the whole thing to my agent, who'll be hopping a plane to Frankfurt the end of this week. (B17)

After that, I've got two more synops on my plate, and then I'm free, free, free from the Land Of Synopses. (B17)

synth-mope

It's a terribly squishy synth-mope song that sounded dated about fifteen minutes after it was recorded in the studio (B92)

sysadmin(s)

Microsoft has once again discovered a security flaw that once again allows hackers to run arbitrary code on an unpatched machine, which will once again make sysadmins everywhere start cursing under their collective breath. (B21)

t3h

3y3 phB 33r t3h g00gl3 (B87)

tape-wrapped

piling it all up with everyone else's duct tape-wrapped cardboard boxes (B111)

taquito(s)

Went to Anna's for the April 14ther's late b-day party, brought all the hors d'oeuvres (isn't it exciting - i understand that word now!) and drove all the way to trader joe's to get them - with my mom (and she's an awful backseat driver), turned people on to vegetarian chicken taquitos, ate a lot (B57)

Tara-ist(s)

What Bush calls the Tara-ists aren't pervasively, indiscriminately evil, trying to ruin everything nice in the world (B7)

tarball

You can find a zip file and tarball at the 2 Link Manager page. (B28)

tax-aholism

They'll call him a fiscal conservative, despite his raging tax-aholism. (B75)

tax-hiker

What makes Dean most dangerous for Democrats is not so much that he talks like a tax-hiker or even that he walks like an alternative lifestyles-lover, but that he looks like a real girly-man on national security. (B75)

tax-hiking

If Karl Rove has his way and Dean is the nominee, look for the Bush campaign team to use the walks-like-poop/talks-like-poop argument to paint Dean as a tax-hiking, socialist, draft-dodging, (B75)

taxonomize

You build enriched objects first so your users can forever after taxonomize the way they want to, instead of the way you think they'll want to. (B80)

tear-tab

I posted a tear-tab poster looking for a drive home (B79)

tech-industry

The only shows we watched were Dana Carvey -- who was quite humorous ("I told my agent I wanted a gig at an amusement park, in the middle of the day, with lots of little kids, so I couldn't do most of my act."), especially the Bill Gates impression and other tech-industry bits. (B68)

techno-blunderer

And I'm sure I will always be a bit of techno-blunderer, though I do now know the meaning of anchor tag. (B89)

techno-junk

oodles of techno-junk (Acorn computer!) (B77)

technologically-enabled

What intersections exist between Hoberman's works involving immersion in computer-aided environments, and his objections to technologically-enabled surveillance society? (B87)

technology-enhanced

For more information on the roots of the technology-enhanced backchannel (B87)

techno-paranoia

excessive techno-paranoia perhaps but this little silver eye in my pocket is unnerving me in some way (B77)

tech-savvies / tech-savvy

Simple concepts which tech-savvies take for granted like wikis and weblogs find themselves in a mess when mapped to benefits and impact in a medium size IT project. (B76)

tech-support

I've worked first-line telephone tech-support, and it is like being in the tenth circle of hell. (B109)

teenager-hood

I recently unearthed evidence of my geeky teenager-hood (B34)

teen-angsty

Not teen-angsty, like my sixteen-year-old self (B22)

teleflogger

Moreover, any savvy teleflogger knows that if somebody has bothered to find out about the "Do Not Call" phrase and has clearly used it preemptively before, they're not going to make a sale. (B85)

text / texted / texting

I texted a final farewell to a friend just in case, and proceeded inside. (B22)
problem of texting under the influence is so common it has been given a name "intexicated". (B55)

thali

Towards the evening, I had a thali with people (yes, a vegetarian one) good enough to pass at a Gujarati restaurant! (B76)

theatersport

We are going to start with the standard improv games and a couple rounds of theatersport, but quickly move on to masks (B3)

Themeful

Themeful thoughts of the day... This was a day with three recurring themes -- live in the present, love your life, and be very forgiving. (B58)

theme-ish

The other theme-ish adventure for Tuesdays is freedom and happiness. (B71)

thingee

we came in search of jeans and left with some sort of terrycloth robe thingee and a velcro thingee... or something like that. (B29)

Thursday-ish

Went to the masters discussion group last night, feeling wearily Thursday-ish. (B53)

timecruncher

I need a timecruncher, and not one that just tells me the time... (B58)

timescapes

they reach their heights on Lucky, Let Down, There There, those slow excursions into translucent, celestial timescapes. (B77)

TiVo

When I see and hear political ads throughout this interminable election season (though mercifully, through the wonders of TIVO, I'm spared having to see most of them), I think of my friend Kevin. (B21)

TiVoing

I went to Walgreen's and got some Zantec 75 because somewhere in the back of my head, I remembered a fleeting glimpse of a commercial I was TiVoing past one day (B111)

toilet-centric

didn't see any Asian female attorney-joggers, although we could've seen lots of spectacularly racked Oklahoma transplants hiding flasks under their skirts or drunken, foul-mouthed, toilet-centric British woman . . . maybe we just didn't recognize them (B24)

tongueache

That subsided with pills and ice, and all I'm left with is intermittent tongueache. (B42)

torture-free

But we're nearly thirteen months into the post-Saddam period of Iraq's history. Its new, torture-free beginning should have been a year ago. (B22)

trackback(s)

Changes in blogrolls, comments added and trackbacks that point to similar information, are all gone (B3)

What's NOT in there yet is recent comments and trackbacks, which I do want to keep prominent - a blog is never a blog unto itself, it's part of a network and I want to show that. (B54)

tracklist

I'll update the tracklist with links as they become available. (B22)

travelblog

The interesting thing from a reader's perspective was noticing how the voice(s) of their travelblog changed. (B53)

ttyl

So yeah my day was very boring but that's ok, so I have nothing to write...hope everyone had a better day than me..ttyl (B13)

uber (fun)

I am too critical of us, but it could have been better. either way it was uber fun and my parental unit (dad, for once.) enjoyed it. (B57)

übercouple

I do, however, like this paragraph from the latest "Oh My God It's More Stuff About Those People!" story, in which the ersatz übercouple set off marriage rumors by going to a courthouse in Georgia (B88)

uber-designer

Today, we had lunch on the pier with Beto, Costa-Rican uber-designer/artist of such sites as Hapta.com and Haptas Blogus (his Spanish blog). (B68)

uber-geek-fests

Okay, some of you aren't Star Trek fans, and you guys must think Star Trek Cons are uber-geek-fests. Well, you're right. (B25)

uber-lounge

Which brand new uber-lounge, owned jointly by a Grammy winner and an Oscar winner, has two secret carpet-lined "Fuck Dungeons" in the basement, complete with beds, plasma TVs, and mirrors, mirrors, mirrors? (B78)

uber-square

I realize that some of you are having your image of sweet little Gordie and uber-square Wesley completely shattered right now, but I think it's best that you get to know the real me sooner than later, that way it won't hurt so badly when we break up. (B25)

uber-wife

As for me, I decided to be an uber-wife on Friday and mowed the lawn. (B17)

ultra-fabulous

the girl with the ultra-fabulous tattoo of a kitty (B111)

ultra-fundamentalist

she has spent a good many years in the bowels of the an ultra-fundamentalist monstrosity headed by Jack Hyles, First Baptist Church of Hammond, IN (B81)

ultra-wonkish

As simple to explain as school vouchers (no ultra-wonkish new methods of financing comprehensive government-provided health care need apply (B62)

un-alien

If I were to change one thing about the Slitheen, it would be the thoroughly un-alien zips. (B107)

unanswerables

Ask.com ponders the unanswerables. (B93)

unaustralian

Thanks to Kenneth Miles, the unaustralian, for the link. (B91)

unauthenticity

Markers in a half-forgotten graveyard, its scores of books on Jesus testify to the unauthenticity of a whole tradition... (B73)

Unavoided

It's not exactly a case of no good deed goes unpunished, but maybe no good work goes unavoidable? I don't know. (B17)

unbitchy

This. Found via this man and this woman, both of whom really are rather lovely (in a not-entirely unbitchy way). (B49)

Un-bussed

Can you say un-bussed tables, shortage of drinks glasses, food 40 minutes late, not enough of it and non-existent staff? (B6)

uncastable

Specifically, it has been established at this point that there were, in the battleground states, organized and deliberate voter suppression efforts, many of which relied on the deception of voters in order to render their votes either invalid or uncastable. (B75)

uncategorized

Filed under: Uncategorized (B27)

uncomfort

(the discomfort of realising your audience consists of 14 men and 2 women, heck, it's brilliant that many male professors are interested in blogs, but I wish I wasn't almost the only woman there (B55)

uncoolness

As I slept, I was bombarded with imagined scenarios of my uncoolness. (B42)

underattended

Woefully underattended? (B24)

under-bill

slightly over exaggerate the quote and under-bill. (B74)

underdelivered

Democrats have a branding problem because, just like many companies with branding problems, they overpromised and underdelivered. (B62)

under-interpretation

The first post, below is on the problem of under-interpretation. (B81)

unfemale

Anywhere that was too difficult, I let my husband do the driving--and yes I realise that's very unfemale power of me, but I think if people have certain strengths they should play to them. (B95)

unflabbergastable

That's not all. I can't manage, each day, to come up with some news tidbit to flap the unflappable, or a discovery to flabbergast the unflabbergastable, or a lurid tale to scrute the inscrutable. (B85)

un-friended

for all those I un-friended: i cut out all the boys in my friend list because i feel more comfortable that way. no offense intended. (B23)

Un-good

This is Very Un-good (B81)

un-gorgeous

They could have hired an actress who, you know, looks normal and un-gorgeous (B92)

uni-coddled

Here is my absolute last word on the subject: I don't care about the fragile souls of uni-coddled academics who are afraid of scary religious people, or whatever their damage is. (B64)

unintuitive

While I'm on the subject of the Times Magazine, the cover story this week is "The Odds of That" by Lisa Belkin, who for a reporter does a pretty good job of presenting the uncomfortable, unintuitive scientific truth (though she tends to use "we" too much). (B97)

un-involved

Over the next couple years, our "friendship" would occasionally drift toward something more than platonic . . . when things weren't going so well with her "fiancé," and I was otherwise un-involved. (B24)

unoriginality

The latest comment exhibits once again his unoriginality. (B64)

unpatched

Microsoft has once again discovered a security flaw that once again allows hackers to run arbitrary code on an unpatched machine, which will once again make sysadmins everywhere start cursing under their collective breath. (B21)

un-selling (out)

Un-selling Out (B99)

un-smart

Alas, I'm too un-smart to see a way out of this enigma. (B85)

unsourced

For instance, I'm somewhat embarassed to admit that I never picked up on the "Some People Say" riff widely in use at Fox as a way of introducing unsourced allegations ("Some people say John Kerry is a traitorous coward--how do you respond?") (B7)

unsqueezed

I'm almost categorically incapable of leaving a pimple unsqueezed (B88)

upthread

The really sad thing to me is that the folks upthread don't seem to get A) this guy is very indicative of much of the student mentality B) much more indicative of the folks at large. (B75)

Uranium-gate

While I agree that Uranium-gate says a lot about the irresponsible spin doctoring that is characteristic of this administration, Josh seems to think this story has the potential to become a major scandal. (B63)

videoblogging

There is an interesting group on videoblogging. (B47)

villa-like

villa-like home (B20)

vlogumentary

I suggest that they take a page from Scott Sigler's book and release it as a free vlogumentary, posting 5-minutes a day. (B38)

VOIP

I just happened to recently ask a question about VOIP and boom. (B74)

VXer(s)

So who's more tasteless, the VXers or the technology evangelists? Both represent extremes of cynicism, but in one way, it's the latter. (B72)

w0000t / W00t

Zippy took some of the best pictures you could imagine which can be found in the gallery. w0000t. lifes great. (B74)

Not just slow and annoying, but also memory hogs! W00t! (B44)

W3C

I wrote the page with the W3C specifications in front of me (B15)

wardriver(s)

WiFiMaps.com collects data gathered by wardrivers all over, and presents them in a searchable (by zip code, for example) database. (B34)

wardriving

NEVER get on the net. Even with a full wardriving kit. (B74)

wastedness

Since my first quarter in college, when nine was the number of vodka shots Lissa and I (in our vastly built-up tolerance) would take to achieve, reliably, a sufficient wastedness to attempt to drink away the sorrows of a horrible campus social atmosphere (B22)

webcomic

Shaenon Garrity, author of my favorite webcomic, Narbonic, just sent this to the mailing list: (B99)

WebCrawler

I won't be satisfied until I'm the first result under WebCrawler Search Results for (B93)

weblog(s)

On the Textweek weblog, Jenee Woodard announces that she has put together the following very useful compendium of links: (B67)

I am very new to blogging. Indeed, about three months ago, I actually had to ask someone, "What is a blog?" I had a vague notion that it was some sort of online diary or journal, but beyond that, I was so absolutely clueless that I didn't even realize that blog was a shortened version of weblog. (B89)

And now we have the Internet, where it is easy to forget that there is anyone else out there at all, except by participating in online communities (such as weblogs). (B53)

weblogger(s)

Use this day to thank your favorite weblogger for all of his or her hard work. (B60)

However, I think that Matt, and others, sell webloggers short. Or does he? (B72)

weblogging

The true weblogging revolutions: when weblogs become invisible. (B47)

webmail

This has broken me out of my coders block - I got far more done on my webmail diversion this weekend than I have since leaving Perth. (B15)

webmonkey(s)

I'm not the world's greatest webmonkey, but I can hack something together when I have to. (B55)

Not a few of my IA classmates seem to think that the main purpose of the course is to turn them into webmonkeys like me. (B55)

webmonkeying

What I don't know how to do, and I've made this clear in everything from my original SLIS application essay to the little info-card I filled out for the IA professor yesterday, is manage the thought processes that lead to the webmonkeying that I already know how to do. (B55)

webpage(s)

As a result of this he found a site on a norwegian webpage, where you actually can calulate how much energy you stuff your face with during the day. (B10)

All following links to Danish webpages (consider yourself warned!) (B52)

webpresence

LOST - and its webpresence (B51)

webpublishing

Why in so many cases weblog use doesn't go beyond webpublishing? (B41)

web-savvy

Obviously, the whole design is very web-savvy. (B93)

webserver

The iMac is great as a DNS, mailserver, and webserver as long as you don't have cgi and javascript running. (B109)

webspace

I finally deleted the long-neglected phpbb forum, in order to free up some webspace (B64)

web-surfers / websurfers

A sufficiently large percentage of your audience could be expected to already have Passport accounts, either through being experienced web-surfers, or by having a large overlap between your audience and, for example, Microsoft's Money Central site, which uses the Passport registration. (B93)

today i am leading another promising group of interested websurfers/writers through a basic introduction to blogging? (B3)

websurfing

The pictures varied; some were related to Bleecker's work, some related to interactive media art overall, some were related to the Yankees/Red Sox game, some were random websurfing. (B87)

webusability

A student, I used to supervise (I think...) has publised a master's dissertation on journalism on the net, with a basis in hypertext theory and webusability studies. (B51)

web-writer

In what ways can the unique model offered by the weblog format assist the web-writer in producing narratives designed principally for electronic delivery? (B53)

Web-zeitgeist

Search Google for a long, slightly obscure sentence fragment, enclosed in quotes, and then revel in the Web-zeitgeist. (B65)

well-adjustedness

If you don't care, then feel happy in your well-adjustedness. (B15)

well-wish

A climax, followed by a sweet well-wish (B106)

whiskerless

But then, who wouldn't like an amazing, whiskerless monkeycat? (B68)

wiffleball

We skim boarded, played football and wiffleball, and barbecued hot dogs in the parking lot, (B25)

wi-fi / Wi-Fi / WiFi / wifi

...start a business providing wi-fi to hospitals with me? (B20)

Wi-Fi is teaching the government a lot about what you can do with a chunk of spectrum where we aren't the arbiter of what can be done. (B6)

Every time I come home from a conference, I'm tempted to write about how WiFi has changed technical conferences. (B44)

troubling the notion of "wifi is a way you get on the internet" (B87)

wiki / wikis

This is an exciting project that will explore the limitations and benefits of the blog as a medium to document such an event, as well as give others a chance to participate in the event through comment features and possibly a wiki. (B3)

I'm also excited about testing out wikis and other server-side applications in my new space. (B56)

women-friendly

He suggests women-friendly themes like communicating with friends or warding off attackers on that late night tube ride, and recommends gadgets be woven into thematic clusters around these topics. (B55)

Womenspeak

And what would it take to get women using it? Stephen Coleman's analysis of the Womenspeak parliamentary consultation might offer some clues. (B55)

wonder-food

Yes, in my book, olives, like chocolate, are a wonder-food that fall in both the veggies and dinner category. (B78)

Woot

Not one of my more favored sayings is Woot. It's been used half to death out in the world (B4)

Word-centric

Another visualization track that gets us a bit closer to our initial visual authoring idea covers new products coming on the market designed to help word-centric people put their ideas into visual form to drive a product design process. (B80)

word-nerd

I've avoided blogging about it because I planned on giving it to two of my word-nerd friends for Christmas and I didn't want to spoil the surprise. (B99)

word-spawning

"The Blogistan Lexicon," and other word-spawning phenomena. (B97)

worka-alco-toxo-holicism

But in Boston's case, its when he hears an old song play it has a madalein effect, it...reminds him of that lost love that all men seem to have, that feeling of LOSS that drives many to madness, to drink, to worka-alco-toxo-holicism. (B77)

wrist-slaps

horde weapons of mass destruction and get nothing more than wrist-slaps from the United Nations. (B65)

Xbox

you need to turn off the Xbox and get out in the real world awhile. (B4)

XHTML

I was experimenting with XHTML for this site, and managed to generate a page that didn't display properly at all. (B34)

XOR-ed

The output of the generator is XOR-ed with the cleartext to produce the cipher. (B34)

y2k

It is going to be better than the y2k celebration. At least I hope so. (B10)

yadda yadda

Also another sameoldsameold article from the arriere-garde New York Times about how there are not a lot of women in the games industry, games are too violent, women like the Sims because it is social, yadda yadda. (B55)

yadda'd

well, i've yadda'd enough...i'm at work killing time. the one day i show up on time, none of my students come!! (B69)

yahooing

After the surfing, the tinkering, the prattling, the yahooing and googling, I'm gonna go get my breakfast before my brain shuts down on me. (B8)

YAB

YAB! Yet Another Birthday. (B47)

YASNS

360 was not designed to be YASNS (Yet Another Social Networking Service). (B44)

yeastless

Whereas the agnostic, if he stays true to his reasonable self, if he stays beholden to dry, yeastless factuality, might try to explain the warm light bathing him by saying, "Possibly a f-f-failing oxygenation of the b-b-brain," (B34)

Yeesh

Just when you thought Nigerian spam scams couldn't get any sillier: turns out at least one of the spammers is actually living in Texas, where he and a British citizen have been indicted. Yeesh. The least they could do is actually be in Nigeria. (B88)

yogurty

It's good! It tastes kind of yogurty. Really good yogurt that is unhealthy and gets you drunk. (B22)

yummily

That's ok though, I love sleeping in the bed with Mac and Emma, it's a little squishy, but oh so yummiily warm. (B103)

Zippergate

Furthermore, it has tasty and informative introductory essays on "Inside Baseball," "The -Gate to Scandal" (which ends with a list of dozens of such formations, from Abdulgate to Zippergate), (B97)

zomboid

those corpse-vocals are the spectral, zomboid voices of the dead ancestors rising, in evil, from their permafrosted tombs. (B77)